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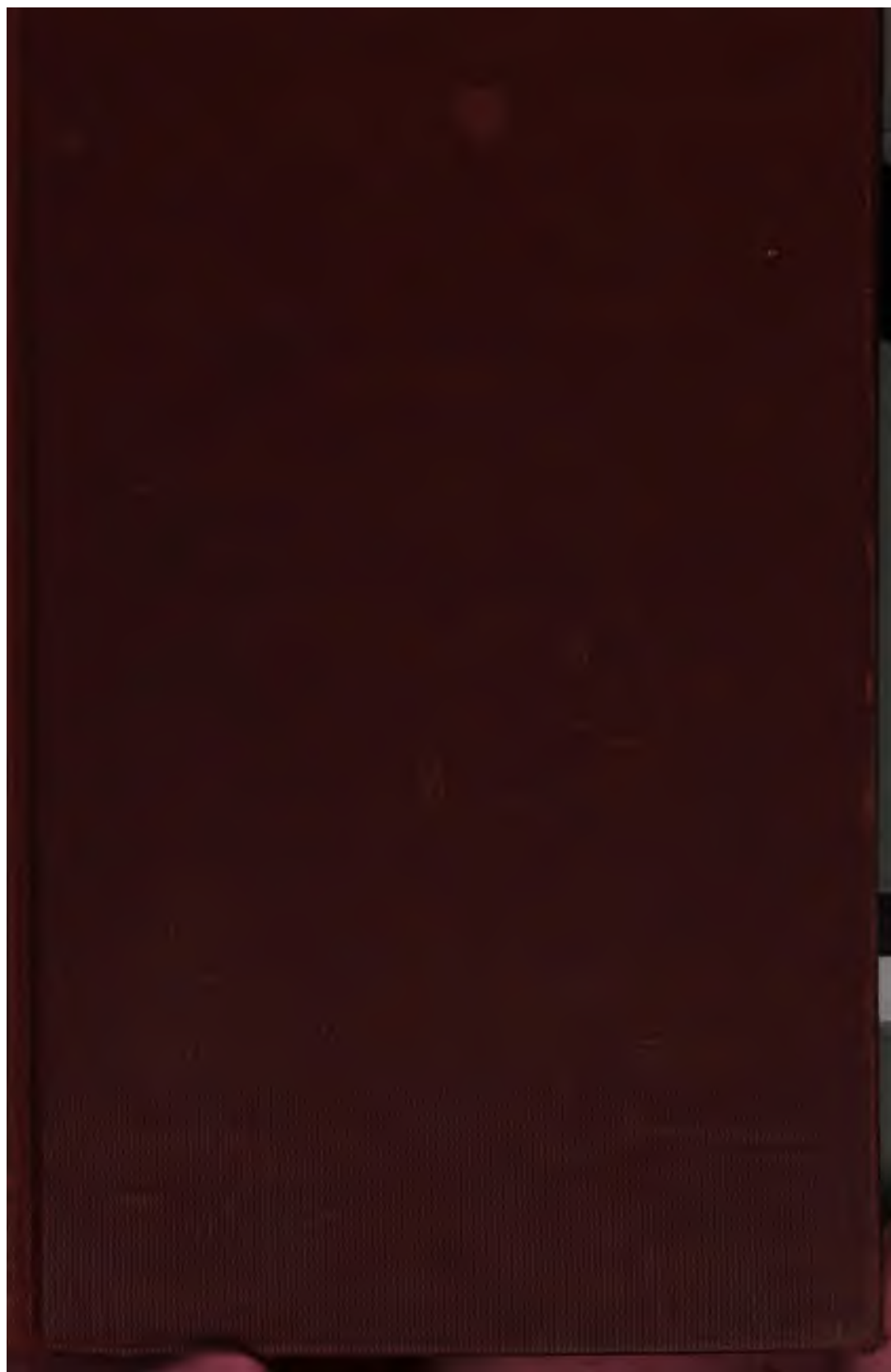
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THE

LIFE AND PONTIFICATE

OF

GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

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BY

JOHN WILLIAM BOWDEN, M.A.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO THE  
PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS  
OF  
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE  
OF THE YEARS WHICH HE SPENT THERE,  
AND OF THE BENEFITS  
THENCE RESULTING TO HIM IN AFTER-LIFE,  
THE FOLLOWING PAGES  
ARE, WITH ALL FEELINGS OF RESPECT AND REGARD,  
INSCRIBED, BY  
THE AUTHOR.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IN the introductory chapter of the following work, will be found a short list of the principal authorities from which the statements in the subsequent narrative have been taken. But,—as it has been thought desirable to furnish the reader with a fuller catalogue, in explanation of the references,—such a catalogue, containing the names of all the principal authors and compilers referred to,—except those whose names are familiar to every one,—has been given in No. I. of the Appendix at the end of the Second Volume.

No. II. of that Appendix contains a table showing the dates of Easter, and other moveable periods of solemn observance in the Church, during the pontifi-

cates of Gregory VII. and his immediate predecessor. Information on this point may, it is thought, sometimes aid the reader in forming an accurate idea of the chronology of the events recorded.

It may be as well to allude here to the apology made in a subsequent note (Vol. I. p. 89) for some apparent inconsistency with regard to the forms of proper names, —whether of persons or of places,—such as the use, in some appellatives, of their Latin or ancient form, and in others, of an Italian or modern one. Such an inconsistency, in treating of an epoch which holds a middle place between ancient and modern times, the author has found it impossible entirely to avoid.

To allude to another matter of detail. It should have been explained in a note to p. 57 of Vol. I., that the spurious “Decretals of Isidore” there spoken of, cannot in strictness be said to have been published by their forger under the name of Isidore of Seville, as they were simply headed with the name “Isidorus Mercator,” the latter word being, probably, an erratum for “Peccator.” But it was on the supposed authority of the Spanish Prelate that they obtained their general acceptance in the Church.

The author cannot conclude this advertisement without availing himself of the opportunity of recording his

obligation to his friend, the Rev. David Lewis, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, for his kind assistance in the work of superintending the passage of these sheets through the press : a task, which, without that assistance, the author, from the state of his health, could scarcely, at the present moment, have undertaken.

*Feast of All Saints, 1840.*





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## ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 10, line 33, 34, for corruption read corruption.

— 17, Note 1, for Scafnaburgensis read Schafnaburgensis ; and in several references at the foot of the pages, for Scafnab read Schafnab.

— 52, line 18, for Dionysius read Dionysius.

— 62, — 6, after dignity ; insert and.

— 90, — 11, for ante-imperial read anti-imperial.

— 93, — 23, for legantine read legatine.

— 114, — 21, for inherited to read inherited.

— 120, — 8, for dentified read identified.

— 207, — 21, for Fontaeto read Fontaneto.

— 370, — 11, for the proper read a proper.

— 372, — 22, for Wezelin, Archbishop, read Wezelin, or Werner, Archbishop.

LIFE  
OF  
GREGORY VII.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Reformation of the Anglican Church in the sixteenth century, however necessary, however beneficial, was a sudden and convulsive change; nor is it any disparagement to its leading principles or essential character to say, that, as such a change, it could not fail to be attended by a variety of incidental evils. One, and that perhaps not the least important, of these, its undesirable but unavoidable consequences, has been the disposition which it has induced among us to disregard our connection, as churchmen, with the past. Though old truths were, during the era of the Reformation, preserved, old associations and habits received a violent shock from the rapidity of its progress; and it has, in consequence, come to bear to our eyes the appearance of a much more fundamental change than, in itself, it really was. With the times antecedent to that great event, we now seem practically to imagine that we have little or no religious concern: our inter-



est in the annals of our Church commences with the reign of Henry VIII.; and the notion generally entertained of her character and position during many centuries before that monarch's accession, is compounded of a broad and general impression of the errors and corruptions of modern Rome, and of a vague belief that all these evils, in all their fulness, were dominant in our island from an epoch virtually immemorial. Though we still speak of Cranmer, of Ridley, of Latimer, as Reformers of our Church, the general tone which we use with respect to them rather accords with the supposition that they were her founders: we conceive them to have composed, rather than to have remodelled, our ritual and liturgy; to have discovered, rather than to have purified, the Faith which we profess. And hence it has come to pass, that of all departments of historical inquiry, none has been of late more generally disregarded by us, than that which would lead to an acquaintance with the varying fortunes of the Church Catholic and her defenders, in England or elsewhere, during the long lapse of time between the age of the primitive Church and that of the divines of Edward and Elizabeth. That this interval was one of perpetual struggle, difficulty, and anxiety to the Church, even the most superficial acquaintance with the secular annals of Christendom would suffice to inform us. But, accustomed as we are to the unfounded notion of our English Church's recent origin, we omit to keep in mind the fact, that she, as a branch of the Church universal, is in some degree involved in the fortunes of that divinely founded institution throughout the world; and that it was our cause, no less than their own, which the champions of the Church have in all successive ages defended against the ever-renewed

and ever-varying assaults of her adversaries. We therefore feel but little interest in contests with which, as we imagine, we have no personal concern; and cannot realize to ourselves the fact that the Reformation, as far as it may be regarded as a struggle between ancient truth and modern error, was itself but the fruit of those earlier struggles which we slight, and of those labours which we depreciate; inasmuch as our Anglican Fathers could never have been called to the high office of defending the Faith and purifying the Church, had not both the one and the other been preserved and handed down to them by the successful efforts of those who, in various times and under various circumstances, had fought the great battle before them.

It is an undeniable, though melancholy, fact, that in the case of some of these, the Church's earlier champions, the faith revealed was overlaid with tenets of human invention. These tenets, however, will upon examination be found to have been all additions to the Christian Creed; not one of the great verities of which was positively lost during even the darkest periods which the Church has been permitted to experience. Those verities therefore might be, and indeed were, continually asserted and maintained against the influence of that evil heart of unbelief which has in all ages supplied men with a temptation to deny them. And if, more favoured in this respect than our distant ancestors, we be permitted to contemplate such truths free from their once prevalent admixture of degrading error, we are not on that account released from a heavy debt of gratitude to those who, under circumstances less propitious than ours, stood forth in the protection of our highest interests, ages before it was given to us to see the light.



With regard to the agents in our English Reformation, it forms, of a surety, an item by no means unimportant in the amount of our obligation to them, that they did not that which we seem habitually to acknowledge that they did, and even to laud them for doing. They did not attempt to found a new Church ;—a word which should hardly be spoken. They did not, tempted as they were to do so, remove their countrymen from those limits of the holy Church Catholic which the Protestants of various parts of Europe were unhappily led, by a seeming necessity, to overstep. The Anglican Church, as left by her Reformers, continued in the enjoyment of her old constitution, under the guidance of her old line, of consecrated governors ; as also, though these are minor points, in the possession of most of her old endowments, and in the enjoyment of her old privileges in the state. She did not alter a single letter of the Creeds which had ever formed the summaries of her Faith. She disclaimed, in the strongest terms, all intention of either separating herself from the other members of the Church Catholic, or discarding that Church's accredited and authoritative teaching. She continued to follow, as her guides in the interpretation of Scripture, the "ancient Fathers and catholic Bishops<sup>1</sup>," honouring in them the general voice of primitive antiquity, and revering, as the clearest accents of that voice, those four general Councils, which her ancient founder or remodeller, Gregory the Great, had taught her to consider as pre-eminently the landmarks of catholic belief<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Liber Canon. Discip. Eccles. Anglic. A. D. 1571 Canon de Concionatoribus.

<sup>2</sup> Sicut sancti Evangelii quatuor libros, sic quatuor concilia

Nor did she, by any act of hers, separate herself from the communion of the Roman patriarch, even when she disclaimed the unauthorized domination which he had learnt to claim over her. However strong the language in which she expressed her sentiments with regard to the doctrinal corruptions which he then espoused, the actual schism between her and the Roman Church,—their present state of outward separation,—dates only from the bull by which, in

suscipere et venerari me fateor. Nicaenum scilicet, in quo perversum Arian dogma destruitur: Constantinopolitanum quoque, in quo Eunomii et Macedonii error convincitur: Ephesinum etiam primum, in quo Nestorii impietas judicatur: Chalcedonense vero, in quo Eutychis, Dioscorique pravitas reprobatur; totâ devotione complector, integerrimâ approbatione custodio: quia in his, velut in quadrato lapide, sanctæ fidei structura consurgit, et cujuslibet vitæ atque actionis existat, quisquis eorum soliditatem non tenet, etiam si lapis esse cernitur, tamen extra ædificium jacet.—*S. Gregor. Mag. Ep. i. 25.*

Such was the reverence paid to these Councils by St. Gregory. As an evidence of the honour in which they were held by the English Church after the Reformation, may be cited the following passage from Hooker: "Wherefore not without good consideration the very law itself hath provided 'that judges ecclesiastical, appointed under the king's commission, shall not adjudge for heresy any thing but that which hath been so adjudged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general Councils, or by some other general council wherein the same hath been declared heresy by the express words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be termed heresy by the high court of parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in the convocation.' By which words of the law who doth not plainly see, how that in one branch of proceeding by virtue of the king's supreme authority, the credit which those four general Councils have throughout all Churches evermore had, was judged by the makers of the foresaid act a just cause wherefore they should be mentioned in that case as a requisite part of the rule wherewith dominion was to be limited?"—*Hooker, Eccl. Pol. book viii. ch. ii. § 17.*



the year 1569, Pope Pius V. declared our Queen Elizabeth excommunicated and deposed.

Then it was that, as though the English prelates thus denounced had lost their spiritual prerogatives, the agents of Rome called into being that party or sect among ourselves whom she now admits to her communion because she has taught them to throw off the authority of their legitimate pastors, the governors, by succession, of our ancient Church<sup>1</sup>.

To that party we, in oblivion of these things, are in the habit of ascribing an antiquity above that of our communion; as though they, and not we, were the spiritual descendants of the time-honoured Catholic Church of elder England; as though they, and not we, were to be considered as included in the glorious fellowship of the wise and good, the heroic and the saintly, whose names adorned that Church's annals in her Saxon or her Norman day; or as though it were their high privilege, rather than ours, to sympathize with the general fortunes, in all times and countries, of the Church universal.

With regard to our Western, or Latin, branch of that Catholic institution, the Roman bishops, and the churchmen connected with their see, occupying, as they have ever done, a most prominent position of eccle-

<sup>1</sup> It is certain that during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successors, until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there were not two separate communions and worships in England. All the people were subject to the same pastors, attended the same churches, and received the same sacraments. It was only about 1570 that the Romish party, at the instigation of foreign emissaries, separated itself and fell off from the Catholic Church of England.—Vid. *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, t. ii. p. 455, and the authorities there quoted.

siastical influence, fill a proportionably important place in the record of ecclesiastical conflicts. Under their conduct it was that some of the most momentous contests between the Church and the world have been fought and gained. We, however, have so long accustomed ourselves to contemplate these pontiffs and their school through the single medium of the Reformation, that it is with some difficulty we can imagine them to have occupied, at any former period, a position different from that which they held at that eventful moment. But it should be recollected that the popery of the sixteenth century was, in the guise which it then assumed, an innovation. Many of its component corruptions had, it is true, by that time long flourished at Rome, as at other places within the Church's pale: but it was only at Trent, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, that they were incorporated by Rome into a Creed, or made articles of Faith, in such a sense as that the reception of them became an indispensable requisite for admission into the privileges of Church communion. Such corruptions, however prevalent they may have been during preceding ages, were in those ages progressive, and not fixed evils; and the common notion is therefore most unfair, which carries back, so to say, and applies the character of the papacy as it developed itself at the Reformation, to the papacy as it existed centuries before that event.

The subjects of our Reformers' censure, be it recollected, were protested against by them, as innovations as well as corruptions. "I am accused," said Archbishop Cranmer, "for a heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture,

and unknown to the ancient Fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion<sup>1</sup>." And with regard to one of the principal features of the system against which that prelate protested, the withholding of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue from the laity; such a practice, we have it upon his own authority, was opposed to what had been the uniform usage of the Anglican Church down to about a century before his own time<sup>2</sup>.

It must be admitted, that of the erroneous doctrines then prevalent, some might claim a far earlier origin; but, before the sixteenth century, these for the most part existed rather as opinions current in the Church, than as articles formally adopted under her sanction. And, even with regard to those which had become the most intimately incorporated into the then existing system of things, the reception of them vaguely, and as matters unquestioned and uninquied into, betokened a very different feeling, and must have had a very

<sup>1</sup> *Jenkyns' Cranmer*, vol. iv. pp. 126, 7.

<sup>2</sup> "If the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom. For it is not much above one hundred years ago" (*i. e.* before A. D. 1540) "since the Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue in this realm; and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue, whereof there remaineth yet diverse copies found lately in old abbeyes, of such antique manners of writing and speaking, that few men now be able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old, and out of common usage, by cause folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain and be daily found."  
—*Jenkyns' Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 105.



different effect on the character, from an adoption of them in form and system, after discussion, and in avowed opposition to the public assertion of their contradicting verities.

But even had this been otherwise, the fact were unimportant to our present purpose. Even linked as it is to the Tridentine creed, the papacy may, and unquestionably does, bear, together with our Church, its witness to those great articles of the Faith which are enunciated in our common creeds; with us it still raises its voice in testimony against the heresies condemned by those four Catholic Councils above alluded to, which the whole body of the faithful unites to revere. Such testimony, even if it stood alone, it still might bear; and there would therefore be no manifest absurdity in the notion of its having stood forth in defence of the truth in former ages, even though it could be proved to have been then laden with the whole burden of its later errors. The disputant who defends the Catholic doctrine of the blessed Trinity against the Socinian, is unquestionably fighting the eternal battle of truth against falsehood, in whatever erroneous notion or heresy, other than that of Socinus, both the disputants may be conceived to agree. Were we indeed to recognise in the character of champions of the truth, or of reformers of the Church, none but teachers whose doctrine and habitual practice were in no single point tainted with error, few indeed would be the number of those whom, since the epoch of accredited inspiration, it would be open to us to dignify with such honourable titles.

Placed as the Church is in the world, her treasures are entrusted to earthen vessels; and her battles here are not carried on, like that of Michael and the Dra-



gon, between unsullied purity on the one side and unmitigated evil on the other; but, between those who, sinful and erring as they may be in many points, have the grace to hold fast the great truths which in their time come peculiarly into question, and those by whom, graced as they may be with some virtuous qualities, the same important verities are unhappily assailed.

These few remarks have been thought necessary at the outset of a narration, which, in representing a Pope in the light in which his own writings and those of his best-informed contemporaries represent him, will depict him as a witness for the truth delivered to the Church's care, and a reformer of the abuses of his time. Without some such preface as the above, a portraiture of him in colours like these might seem to intimate an intention on the part of his biographer to justify, in its completeness, the system which he asserted, or at least to explain away and extenuate those great errors and perversions by which his creed, and the general creed of his time, was corrupted and defiled. Let therefore such an intention be here, once for all, distinctly disclaimed. No one, indeed, can thoroughly and impartially investigate the records of his age, without deeply grieving to see how universally the foul weeds which had then sprung up in the Church's vineyard had entwined themselves around its proper plants, to stunt and to disfigure them,—how in the case of Gregory VII. and of his contemporary school of Churchmen, the assertion of the highest principles of faith was distorted by their amalgamation with misconceived dogmas and erroneous inventions,—and how, in defending religion, these high-principled men also became the defenders of a variety of growing and formidable corruptions. But these corruptions, it will be seen, were far from being the direct

object of the great struggle which it was their lot to carry on. Professing a corrupted theology, they defended it, not against a purer system or a reformed creed, but against dangers which threatened the destruction of Christianity itself. Whatever might have been their doctrinal errors, such errors were the tenets of their adversaries as well as of themselves; and were, in effect, entirely beside the main purport or bearing of the contest which will form the most prominent subject of the following pages. In preserving and invigorating the Church's constitution, they undoubtedly also preserved and cherished those seeds of evil which, modified as it had been by human interference, that constitution then contained; and thus became, in a sense, indirectly responsible for their subsequent extensive and fatal germination. But, if so, it was only as he who preserves a diseased man from a violent and external danger may be said to be the cause of the disease afterwards reaching a fatal termination. Of course, such a preserver would render the patient a more complete service if he could also eradicate the seeds of malady; but if he have not the power, or be not in a position, to do this, it does not follow that his exertions should on this account be thought of no value, or, which would be still more absurd, censured for their indirect, unexpected, and distant consequences; in forgetfulness of those which were more direct, intended, and immediate.

Nor can it be denied that the same unhappy cause which thus perniciously affected the permanent results of their energetic labours, must have also exerted an injurious effect upon their personal characters, lowering the loftiness of Christian principle, and injuring the delicacy of Christian feeling. Doctrinal errors ever



produce corresponding errors in habits of thinking and acting; and the professor of a corrupted theology, strenuous as may be his efforts and pure his desires, in vain attempts to reach the moral exaltation of him to whom it is permitted to make similar efforts under the guidance of a clearer light. We shall, accordingly, as we proceed in the contemplation of our subject, be often pained by seeing the noblest sentiments debased by their intermixture with motives of conduct of a very opposite character; the exertions of the most expansive benevolence contaminated by an alloy of low ambition; the most heavenward aspirations mingled with aims of a more base and earthly kind. In the papal schools of the middle ages we may find devotion, zeal, charity; but we should not look to them for that completeness, that holy consistency, of character which was the ornament of earlier and purer times. If their records bear, as they do, the unquestionable impress of Christian principle, they often, alas! as clearly indicate a prevalence of corruption inseparable from a degraded theology.

To some persons, the very notion of a combination, in the same schools, of high Christian principle, and of corruptions so gross as were those of Rome, even in their nascent state, may appear absurd; we have however, it should be recollected, as much evidence for the existence of the one, as for the influence of the others, during the period in question; and if, therefore, this circumstance appear to present us with an incredible inconsistency, it were quite as just, and far more charitable, to believe in the good which is borne witness to, and to doubt of the asserted evil. But, in truth, the impressions of persons thus imagining may perhaps be found, on consideration, to arise from a disposition,

natural to us all, to view the errors of a remote age with a horror relatively, though not absolutely, exaggerated, because those errors not only find no countenance from the peculiar tendencies and habits of thought of our own time, but are, on the contrary, in many cases, diametrically opposed to them; while the errors of our own time and society, being, as they must needs be, but exaggerations of prevalent views and imaginations, and harmonizing in some measure with the general tone and character of religious feeling around us, would fail to strike us with any thing like a similar abhorrence, even though they should in themselves be to the full as inconsistent with the integrity of the truth revealed. But could we suppose the high-minded Pontiff of the eleventh century to contemplate, with the feelings of his own time, the religious notions and practices of ours, what might he not think of the almost total abandonment of the Christian duty of fasting? What of the almost universal neglect, for six days out of every seven, of public worship, in all former ages recognised as a daily duty? What of the contempt shown to the Church's authority, as well by the non-observance of her solemn seasons of humiliation or rejoicing, as by the formation of a host of irregular religious societies, half-within and half-without her pale? or what of the tenet, now notoriously prevalent among us, that those whom the Church has duly admitted to holy baptism may not trust that they were therein admitted to the grace of regeneration; but that persons who, after the reception of that holy Sacrament, have abandoned themselves to the grossest sin, have reason to hope for a subsequent admission to the fulness of that spiritual blessing?

The age of Gregory VII. cannot, assuredly, be



charged with generally sanctioning or approving any corruptions of doctrine or of practice more opposed than these to the teaching of the Church Catholic, or to the testimony of Scripture. While, therefore, we habitually admit, as we do, the notion that persons who have fallen into these later errors may notwithstanding be animated by a sincere reverence for Christianity; by a zeal true, though it be not according to knowledge, for the Church's cause; by a reverential attachment to her Almighty founder; and by an overflowing charity, thence derived, toward the world which He redeemed; we cannot in fairness refuse to admit that the same hallowed dispositions might at another period consist with the adoption of errors of an opposite kind. All contrary as they seem, the errors of our Fathers may sometimes, even by our limited powers of observation, be traced to the same source with our own. It may, for instance, have been the same imperfection of belief, the same inadequate conception of the real nature and fulness of Christian privileges, which made men in the middle ages receive with unhesitating credence a host of miraculous narrations of the most childish kind, and which, at a later epoch, has taught them to yearn for palpable impressions of Regeneration, or for positive demonstrable tokens of the Almighty's operation on their souls<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Of course it is not meant to be asserted that during the middle ages the arm of the Almighty was never visibly outstretched in miracle. I will frankly avow my belief that the contrary is the truth. And still less, I should hope, will the above sentence be construed into a presumptuous limitation of the unseen ways of God's Providence in His present dealings with the soul. But to look habitually, and by system, for such manifestations of His power, of either kind, seems to betoken an imperfect comprehension



Gregory VII., then, and the Churchmen of his school, will in the following pages be generally represented in the light, which a careful study of all the contemporary sources of information accessible to me has induced me to believe the true one; in the light, that is, of sincere though imperfect Christians; of men who, trained in a corrupt school of theology, could not acquire that purity of motive or consistency of practice which they might under more favourable circumstances have attained; but who, at the same time, devoted themselves, through life, to the service of God and to what they considered the best interests of mankind; and who, while thus acting, became the favoured instruments of Heaven in reforming the Church and in warding off from Christianity one of the most fearful dangers to which she has ever been permitted to be exposed.

The following chapters will however put the reader in a condition to form, on these points, his opinions for himself; nor will it be necessary to trouble him with any further observations of a prefatory kind, except for the purpose of briefly explaining to him the arrangement of the work, and the reasons for which that arrangement has been adopted.

To furnish him with an adequate idea of the position of the papacy, and of the condition of the Western Church in general at the period of Gregory's appearance on the scene, it was needful to give, in the first place, a comprehensive sketch of the early fortunes of the Roman see, and of the rise of its primates to their monarchical supremacy. And to this is devoted the

of the truth "The just shall live by faith." And, in point of fact, a considerable proportion of the legends of the middle ages, like the "experiences" of our own time, do unquestionably seem to merit the designation of childish narrations.

first of the four books into which the work has been divided. The second and third books contain the annals of Gregory's life, divided into the two divisions which naturally suggest themselves; the periods anterior to and subsequent to his elevation to the papal chair. And as his main business during his life was the conduct of a great contest of principle, which, in dying, he left unfinished, it has been thought expedient, in a fourth and final book, to bring the record of that contest summarily to its conclusion.

The authorities upon which the facts are narrated are mostly given at the bottom of the pages. They are too numerous to be specified here. Most important among them are the epistles which have come down to us from the pen of Gregory himself<sup>1</sup>. From these, copious extracts will be found in the following pages. In translating them, I have aimed rather at giving the sense than a literal version of each sentence quoted; and though, as the reader will find, long passages in the Pontiff's correspondence have been frequently abridged, I have assuredly in no single instance intentionally suppressed any paragraph on the ground of its connection with the errors of the papal school. Among other principal sources of information, I may mention, for Gregory's personal history, Bonizo bishop of Sutri<sup>2</sup>, and Paul of Bernried<sup>3</sup>, his apologists, and Benno<sup>4</sup> his assail-

<sup>1</sup> And which are to be found in the collections of Councils: for example, in Harduin's, t. vi. pt. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizonis Sutriensis Episcopi liber ad amicum. Vid. Oefelii Scriptores rerum Boicarum, t. i.

<sup>3</sup> Pauli Bernriedensis Vita Gregorii VII. Vid. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, t. iii. pt. i.; or Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti, Sæcul. vi. pt. ii.

<sup>4</sup> Bennonis Vita Hildebrandi. Vid. Goldasti Apologia pro Henrico IV.



ant; for the affairs of the empire during his life-time, Lambert of Aschaffenburg<sup>1</sup>, Siegbert of Gemblours<sup>2</sup>, the Abbots of Auersberg<sup>3</sup>, the anonymous author styled *Annalista Saxo*<sup>4</sup>, and the chronicler of the Saxon war, known by the name of Bruno<sup>5</sup>; for the adventures of the Normans, their own historians, William of Apulia<sup>6</sup>, and Geoffrey of Malaterra<sup>7</sup>; for the affairs of Milan, the Milanese authors Landulf<sup>8</sup> and Arnulf<sup>9</sup>; and for the general annals of the Church, the collections of Councils by Harduin, Mansi, &c. I have, of course, systematically availed myself of the assistance of more recent historical compilers; among whom may be named Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*), Schröckh (*Kirchliche Geschichte*), Gieseler (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*), and Voicht, the author of a *Life of Gregory* published in Germany in 1815. But these have been only used to lead me to sources of information of an earlier date; and no fact whatever is stated in the following work, at least with reference to its principal subject, which I have not found recorded in contemporary, or nearly contemporary, annalists of his life and times, whose veracity

<sup>1</sup> Lambertus Scafnaburgensis, de rebus gestis Germanorum. Vid. Pistorii Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, t. i. edit. Struvii.

<sup>2</sup> Siegeberti Gemblacensis Cœnobitæ Chronographia. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Chronicon Urspergense. (Argentorati, 1609. Fol.)

<sup>4</sup> Annalista Saxo, ab initio Regni Francorum usque ad annum 1139 res gestas enarrans. Vid. Eccardi Corpus Historicum medii ævi, t. i.

<sup>5</sup> Brunonis de Bello Saxonico historia. Vid. Freheri Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, t. i.

<sup>6</sup> Gulielmus Appulus, de rebus Normanorum. Vid. Muratori, R. I. Script. t. v.

<sup>7</sup> Gaufridi Malaterræ historia Sicula. Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Landulphi senioris historia Mediolanensis. Muratori, t. iv.—Landulphi junioris hist. Med. Muratori, t. v.

<sup>9</sup> Arnulphi Mediolanensis Gesta Mediolanensium. Muratori, t. iv.

seemed liable to no suspicion. Where those annalists have been found to differ from each other on points of very little importance ; such, for instance, as the precise day of the month on which a battle had been fought ; I have sometimes adopted the statement of him who appeared most likely, from his position or circumstances, to be accurately informed upon the subject, without troubling the reader with a comparison of authorities, or a discussion of the difference. On greater points, where a discrepancy has appeared between the statements of different parties, and the truth has seemed to be doubtful between them, I have, I believe invariably, while giving in the text that which appeared most probable, acquainted the reader with the opposite version in the margin.

Though it was, of course, my wish to be as exact in my references as possible ; yet, as many of the historians used as authorities are, in the strict sense of the word, annalists,—recording the events of each year by itself in a separate period or paragraph ; it has seemed sufficient, in citing them, to give their names, as an intimation that the passage referred to in each case is in that paragraph of their works which is headed with the date of the year treated of in the text. Where, therefore, the date of the year, in such references, is given, it is in many cases because the writer cited describes an occurrence as happening in a different year from that to which other authorities have induced me to assign it.

On the subject of dates it may be well also to observe, that, in the times of which the following pages treat, various fashions of dating prevailed ;—some beginning the year with the Feast of the Nativity,—some with the Incarnation, (Lady-day)—some with

the commencement of the year of the Imperial or Constantinian Indiction<sup>1</sup> on the 24th of September, and others on other days. But for the sake of clearness, the years spoken of in this narrative have always been considered as beginning with our present New Year's-day, the Feast of the Circumcision.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. i. p. xiv.





# LIFE

OF

## GREGORY VII.

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### BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

TESTIMONY OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY TO THE EQUALITY OF THE APOSTLES IN SPIRITUAL RANK AND AUTHORITY—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH IN EARLY TIMES TENDED TO INVEST THE SEE OF ROME WITH A PRE-EMINENCE OF HONOUR—IMPORTANT SERVICE PERFORMED BY THE BISHOPS OF THAT SEE IN MAINTAINING AND EXTENDING THE FAITH—THEIR POSITION AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF EMPIRE TO CONSTANTINOPLE—GRADUAL INCREASE OF CORRUPTIONS—CONTESTS CAUSED BY THE PRACTICE OF IMAGE-WORSHIP—CONTENTION ON THIS POINT BETWEEN THE POPES AND THE GRECIAN EMPERORS—COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE FORMER AND THE CARLOVINGIAN PRINCES—CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE—INFLUENCE OF THAT MONARCH'S SYSTEM UPON THE HIERARCHY—SPURIOUS DECRETALS OF ISIDORE—CAUSES OF THEIR GENERAL RECEPTION—THEIR EFFECT IN CONSOLIDATING THE PAPAL POWER—DONATIO CONSTANTINI—PONTIFICATE OF NICHOLAS I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

A MULTITUDE of witnesses, among the early Christian writers, have borne testimony to the conviction of the Church in their time that the sacred rank of all the Apostles was essentially the same; that the chosen twelve were endowed by their Divine Master with an equal fellowship of honour and power<sup>1</sup>; being all in

<sup>1</sup> Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi honoris et potestatis.—Cyprian. de Unitat. Eccles.

common entrusted with the spiritual charge of the world<sup>1</sup>: that what was said in the way of commission to St. Peter was said in effect to the others also<sup>2</sup>; and that however the zeal and energy of the son of Jonas may have rendered him in some sort a leader and guide of his brethren, yet that in the naked matter of apostolic privilege, St. James, St. John, and others, were, like St. Paul, not a whit behind the chiefest of the apostles<sup>3</sup>.

The bishop, therefore, who, when that "glorious company" had been called to its rest, was found occupying the episcopal chair in which St. Peter's last years of labour had been spent, had no ground, from this circumstance, for claiming a supremacy, as of Divine right, over his brethren of the hierarchy, as though he were of an order different from and higher than theirs. But yet a variety of causes, commencing their operation from the dawn of Christianity, and continuing during the lapse of many centuries in activity, concurred in vesting the Roman prelate with a certain degree of pre-eminence in dignity over those associated with him in the government of the universal Church. From the first, amid the deep and general veneration for episcopacy which pervaded primitive times, special honours were attributed to the churches which contained the thrones in which Apostles themselves had sat, and which may be said to have formed the primary fulfil-

<sup>1</sup> πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες.—Chrysost. Hom. de Lect. Script.

<sup>2</sup> Quod Petro dicitur, cæteris apostolis dicitur.—Ambros. in Ps. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes et Jacobus quia plus cæteris petierunt, non impetraverunt; et tamen non est dignitas eorum imminuta, quia reliquis apostolis æquales fuerunt.—Hieronym. adv. Jovin. l. i.

ment of our Lord's promise to the destined rulers of His Church, recorded in St. Matt. xix. 28. There, from time to time, according to Tertullian, were read aloud the very letters which they had written, echoing the voice and imaging the person of each of them<sup>1</sup>; there, for a time, were to be found their friends and pupils, who had habitually drunk in the sacred lessons of truth from their lips, and whose authority, in matters of doctrine, was therefore but one degree removed from that of accredited inspiration; and there, even after that generation of saints had been removed to its rest, might be supposed to linger, in the traditions which it had handed down, the most precious relics of oral apostolic lore. The prelates, therefore, who occupied sees thus distinguished, were regarded as being witnesses to the faith once delivered to the saints, in an ampler sense than their spiritual brethren, the general members of the episcopal body. To them reference was continually made, in cases of doubt or difficulty, by the bishops who presided over less distinguished cities; and in their decisions was recognised an authority proportionate to the admitted superiority of their means of information.

To such distinction Rome had, as need scarcely be shown, a peculiar claim. "How happy," says the Father last quoted, Tertullian, "How happy is that church "where Apostles poured forth their whole doctrine with "their blood;—where Peter was likened in suffering "to his Lord; where Paul was crowned with the martyr- "dom of John the Baptist; and whence John the Apos- "tle, having been plunged without injury into boiling

<sup>1</sup> Apud quos ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque.—Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret. c. xxxvi.

“oil, was exiled to his island<sup>1</sup>.” And while the East, in Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, and the like, possessed a variety of sees which had been either originally presided over by an Apostle, or honoured by his inspired epistolary communications, Rome stood alone in apostolic honours amid the cities of the western, or Latin, portion of the empire. The city, too, which formed the political centre of the world, could scarce fail, when Christianity had spread itself over that world, to become its religious centre also. The Church has ever adapted, and in fact could not well do otherwise than adapt, her geographical and statistical arrangements to those of the civil world around her<sup>2</sup>. The size and importance of the imperial city would of themselves invest its pastoral superior with a certain pre-eminence over his brethren in other places. And the character of a metropolis,—as the general centre of communication with outlying provinces,—as the spot through which, if not from which, information of all kinds finds its way to the diversified portions of a great empire,—must have materially contributed to the same end. As the Church extended herself through the rude and distant regions of the west, it was in most cases from Rome that the bishops who founded her new sees would receive their orders and their mission; and to them, when these spiritual settlers in the waste stood in need of guidance or control, the Roman Patriarch could speak in the tone of parental as well as of apostolical authority. They were bound to him

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> The apostolic seats, indeed, were naturally fixed, for the most part, in cities of the greatest name and consideration. Vide Thomassin. *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. disciplin.* pt. i. lib. i. c. iii. § 2, 3.



by a tie similar to that which now connects our colonial prelates with the successor of our English Austin; at the same time that they felt, in common with the whole of Christendom, the abstract right to their veneration possessed by the see which had been founded and originally governed by St. Peter.

In the combination of causes thus tending to the exaltation of one particular see, we may perhaps venture to trace, as though partially manifested to us, the generally invisible guidance of His Almighty hand who ever directs and disposes all things to the good of His Church below. The part assigned to Rome in the history of the world,—her rise, progress, and duration,—is a marvellous dispensation of Providence, to be contemplated with reverence and awe. She was raised up, we know, to prepare the way for that kingdom “made without hands,” which was to succeed her; and of which, subduing as she did all kings, and uniting all territories into one, she became herself the mysterious type and prefiguration. She was the earthly agent by whose ministration, in the crucifixion of our Lord, that better kingdom was developed. By her obliteration of the feuds between different nations, through their enforced submission to one common government, she providentially smoothed the way for the feet, “beautiful upon the mountains,” of those who bore to all lands the tidings of salvation. Why may we not then be permitted to imagine that she was yet further a predestined instrument of good in the Divine hand, in preserving, through the pre-eminent authority which we know to have been enjoyed by her bishop, the often hazarded unity of the nascent Church? The supposition implies not the slightest approval of the errors or usurpation to which the papacy has, in these later

days, unhappily committed itself. He who in His Divine teaching set forth the Apostle Peter as the type of unity in the Episcopate, may be thought to have ordained that Apostle's see to be the agent in preserving such unity during the first struggles of His religion, without being supposed to give His high sanction to the exaggerated pretensions or doctrinal aberrations of the same see in subsequent ages. Nor, if a servant of the Great Master have, alas ! been induced, while his Lord tarried, to forget his duty towards his fellow-servants,—to tyrannize and to domineer,—are we thence entitled to infer that he was not called, in the first instance, to a distinguished station of rule over the spiritual household.

To appreciate, in any degree, the services rendered in early times to the cause of catholic unity and catholic truth, by the see thus dignified, we should refer to the history of the great Arian controversy in the fourth century. The providence of God, by removing the seat of empire, just as that controversy broke out, to a new capital, left the ancient metropolis comparatively free from the pressure of imperial authority; and enabled her pastor, when heresy, under the influence of the sovereign, reigned triumphant at Constantinople, to act with energy and independence as the assertor of the faith,—the great bulwark of the Church,—against the universal domination of error. Julius, who sat in the chair of St. Peter from 337 to 352, was the friend and host of the persecuted and banished Athanasius<sup>1</sup>; and Liberius, his successor, when threatened, at Milan, with exile by the Arian emperor Constantius, in the event of his refusing to subscribe the decrees of an

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi *Breviarium Gestorum Pontificum Roman.* t. i. p. 48.



heretical council, gave this dignified reply: "I have already taken leave of my brethren at Rome; the laws of the Church are dearer to me than is my home in that city<sup>1</sup>." When in exile, it is true, this latter pontiff faltered in his constancy, and obtained his recal by unjustifiable concessions; but when restored to his see, he returned to the support of the Catholic cause; he condemned the heretical council of Rimini<sup>2</sup>, and thus handed on the testimony of Rome to the truth, unimpaired, to the hands of his successor, Damasus, by whom it was unflinchingly maintained, until the time of trial was past, the general enemy was subdued, and the Nicene creed, ratified and enlarged at Constantinople<sup>3</sup>, was recognised as the orthodox symbol of reunited Christendom.

By a line of conduct so honourable, the Roman bishops could not fail to strengthen and consolidate the moral authority which they had previously enjoyed; and though the Eastern Fathers, assembled in the following century at Chalcedon<sup>4</sup>, ventured to treat the spiritual priority of Rome as having arisen merely from her political supremacy<sup>5</sup>, and to enact the recognition of a similar dignity in their own metropolis; yet the pro-

<sup>1</sup> "Fratribus meis qui sunt Romæ jam valedixi. Potiores mihi sunt leges ecclesiasticæ quam domicilium Romæ."—Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 16. Vid. F. Pagi, t. i. p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> F. Pagi, t. i. p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. 381.

<sup>4</sup> A. D. 451.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Concil. Chalced. can. xxviii.—a canon which, as is remarked by Thomassinus, "ut a vero non dissideat, ita sumendum est, quod ea denique fuit ratio quæ Petrum illexit Romam, ut ibi apostolicam figeret cathedram, fontemque cœlestis doctrinæ, facile inde in omnes orbis partes dimanaturæ." Thomassin. vetus et nova Eccl. discip. pt. i. lib. i. c. x. § 13.

test of the Roman representatives against the measure, seems to have been very generally responded to by the judgment and the feelings of mankind. In the diadem of Constantine, the city which that sovereign had founded might exhibit a rival distinction to the laurel wreath of Cæsar; but she could not exhibit the pastoral seats in which Apostles had sat, or point to the tombs beneath which their ashes reposed;—she could not claim the spiritual parentage of Christian communities diffused throughout the habitable world; nor could she, even from the recent origin of her metropolitan existence, display an unbroken line of pastors who had borne the high character of witnesses for the truth.

Under these circumstances, it need not surprise us to find the writers of these early times speaking of the Roman see in the language of unqualified veneration; looking to its occupants as to their natural guides and commanders in the strife which they were ever waging against the error and heresy around them; and expressing themselves as though agreement in doctrine with that central point implied agreement with the wise and good of all ages,—with the general body of Catholic Christendom.

This need not, it has been said, surprise us—far less need it grieve us. Rome, which had once already brought Christianity to our British shores in her train, became, at the close of the sixth century, once more our spiritual parent. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, in whom our language and our English name teach us to recognise the main stock of our mingled race, were by the active benevolence of Pope Gregory, justly styled the Great, converted from the worship of their northern idols to the service of the One true God. By that great



benefactor of our country, the Church, which had been driven as a fugitive into the wild and mountainous parts of our island, was made once more to cover the land, and established here upon her present basis, under the government of those two metropolitan sees which continue to preside over her. And it is through their spiritual descent from this Roman bishop and his predecessors, that our Primates and their suffragans derive their clearest<sup>1</sup> title to govern the Church of Christ in England at this very day. It is not, therefore, for us to look with jealousy or distaste upon the ancient glories of our nursing-mother in the faith. It is not for us to seek to pare away expressions, or to reduce to their minimum of meaning the glowing testimonies of antiquity to that mother's purity and honour. She, it is true, has since abandoned us; and, because we refuse to bow down before the idols whom she has in these later times set up, refuses to recognise us as her children. We, however, have not separated from her; we have formed ourselves into no new sect or party, but by God's blessing continue within the pale of that catholic community to which she first admitted us. Nor can her recent tyranny prevent our eyes from reverting to the shining indications of her pristine

<sup>1</sup> Their clearest, not their only one. There can be little doubt that through the intermingling of the British and Saxon Churches, the title derived through Augustine, has long been blended with one deduced from the earlier prelates of our island. "We stand," says Mr. Palmer, "on the ground of prescriptive and immemorial possession, not merely from the times of Patrick and Augustine, but from those more remote ages when the bishops and priests that were our predecessors, attended the councils of Arles and of Nice, when Tertullian and Origen bore witness that the fame of our Christianity had extended to Africa and the East."—*Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ*, t. ii. p. 251.



worth; or our hearts from burning within us, as we gaze, with emotions of exalted pleasure akin to those with which an affectionate and duteous child delights to survey the cherished mementos of parental excellence.

The western empire, before the time of Gregory the Great, had come to its termination; and the imperial city, after bending for sixty years under the yoke of barbarian masters, was delivered by the arms of the Grecian generals, Belisarius and Narses, and became the capital of a distant appanage to the empire of Constantinople. The political cause, therefore, of the Roman Patriarch's dignity was no more; or existed but in the recollections which continued to throw a moral majesty around the scene of ancient greatness. But that dignity had, as we have seen, other sources of support, other principles of permanence; and the pastoral seat of St. Peter was not, therefore, crushed under the ruins of the throne of Cæsar. Of the barbarous tribes who in those confused times settled themselves in the different kingdoms of western Europe, some, having been already half-converted, embraced in its completeness the religious faith which they found in those countries, without an effort or struggle; and imbibed, with that faith, the generally prevalent reverence for the first bishop of the West. And as these rude nations fell off from the faith of the Church, as from a system too exalted for them, into the impieties of Arianism, the active zeal of the Roman prelates raised up, in new proselytes to the Catholic Creed, new subjects to their patriarchal control. While the great heresy reigned triumphant in many parts of Italy and Spain, Germany, like England, was converted from idolatry to catholicism by missionaries directly despatched and accredited by

Rome; Boniface becoming in the eighth century an apostle to the Teutonic tribes of the continent, as Austin had been to those in our own island at the conclusion of the sixth.

But the Roman see was not, during these dark and convulsive periods, as successful in preserving that purity of faith which had once distinguished her, as she was in maintaining her station of pre-eminence among the Churches of the West. It is always antecedently probable that the history of the Church, if considered with reference to a period of considerable length, will be found to be a record of her declension. The light which illumines her is, as it were, flung over her from a past period, that of her nativity; and waxes fainter and fainter as that period fades into the dim perspective of time. Such an image will at least represent the gradual change which took place in her condition during the early centuries of Christianity. We in these latter times can scarcely image to ourselves the fulness of spiritual knowledge enjoyed by those who were admitted into the Church, while the Apostles were her living governors; who heard the mysteries of the faith set forth in copious discourses by these infallible instructors; and who were taught to realize to themselves the great events connected with our Redemption, by personal communication with those who had seen and handled the Word of life. And vain it were to expect that the Church, in her transition from a period so blessed to that in which the last of these special advantages, preserved as they were for some time by traditions, had disappeared, could have maintained in their fulness the high devotion and the heavenly-mindedness which had characterized her radiant prime. Her external condition, too, became, as time went on,



more favourable to her extension than to her purity. Instead of being put apart by the world, and purified by the fires of persecution, she was incorporated, if we may so say, into that world, and tempted by the inducements which it held forth of authority and power.

Even without, therefore, adverting to the troubles consequent on the downfall of the empire and on the barbarian wars;—troubles which, by investing with an overpowering interest the affairs of this world, could not but in some degree divert men's minds from the contemplation of that which is to come; we should have no reason to expect that any portion of the Church in the eighth century could exhibit, either in faith or spiritual light, the undiminished splendour of earlier times.

And the Roman bishops, while participating in the general declension which may thus be accounted for, were thrown, during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, into a position peculiarly unfavourable to the maintenance of certain great principles of Christian faith and practice. For then, tempted as they ever were by the authority which they enjoyed,—an authority which could only, perhaps, be wielded by human hands for unmixed good in ages of strong faith and clear knowledge,—to assume the character of kingly rulers over their spiritual brethren; they were placed, with relation to their temporal sovereigns, in circumstances peculiarly adapted to deaden in their minds those impressions of religious loyalty which had so strongly characterized their predecessors and the primitive Church throughout the world. The Goths, whose expulsion from Rome has been already adverted to, were succeeded in Italy by the Lombards, who, pouring their swarms across the Alps, in the year of our

Lord 568, soon mastered a very considerable portion of its territory. Rome, however, escaped subjection to their dominion. Though the powerful kingdom which they set up extended almost to her gates, the imperial city continued to form a portion of the eastern empire. But the same causes which had prevented the Greek monarchs from arresting the general progress of the Lombard arms, operated to prevent their wielding the powers of government with a vigorous arm in those parts of Italy which yet acknowledged their control. And amid the weakness and distractions of their declining empire, the care of the public safety and administration of the civil government at Rome fell in a great measure, as though by a sort of necessity, into the hands of the spiritual pastors of the place. It was to them, distinguished as they often were by virtues, and ready as was ever the appeal to them in moments of difficulty or danger, that the people learned to look more hopefully for counsel and protection, than to sovereigns whom they knew but by name, and who seemed to be alike powerless to control their subjects and to awe their enemies. Distant as she was from the seat of Grecian empire, and almost isolated amid the settlements of northern barbarians, Rome became, to a certain extent, an independent state, and her bishop, in a corresponding degree, a virtual sovereign; his power, as opposed to that of their nominal ruler, being endeared to the people by the interest felt by Latins in those questions of discipline and observance, which, now that the intercourse between the East and West was less constant, began to distinguish these two great divisions of the Church from each other. Some of these questions may perhaps be regarded as in themselves of little moment; yet even these assume a melancholy import-



ance when contemplated as the first symptoms and manifestations of a disregard of the great truth, that the Church's right to the full enjoyment of her privileges is contingent upon her preservation of unity among her members. But during the seventh and eighth centuries, her declension from the palmy state of her apostolic days had become even more strikingly displayed by the formidable corruptions of practice in which her two great divisions agreed, than by any of the minor points about which they differed and disputed. From the use, natural in the first instance, of images, and other representations of sacred persons and things in Christian Churches, as ornaments, as helps to memory, or as instruments of instruction,—there gradually grew up, in the East, an idolatrous worship of these venerable symbols; a worship which, though at first alien to the less excitable imagination of the West, ultimately took root there also; and engrafted itself so firmly into the habits of universal Christendom, that when a Grecian emperor, Leo the Isaurian, in 726, attempted to put down this unjustifiable practice, Constantinople and Rome were both furious at his proceedings. And though he and succeeding emperors for a while carried their point in their own metropolis, yet with regard to Rome their efforts were by no means equally successful. Gregory II. defended the cause of image-worship, —a practice which Gregory the Great had pointedly condemned,—with such zeal, that Leo, provoked by it to the utmost, decreed his deposition, and endeavoured alike by force and treachery to seize or to destroy him<sup>1</sup>. But against the snares and conspiracies of the emperor, Gregory's extreme watchfulness kept him in

security; and against open assaults he defended himself by methods more consonant with the character of a sovereign than with that of a Christian prelate. The Italians, inflamed by his addresses, rose in arms in support of his cause. At Ravenna, the Exarch, or imperial governor, was slain in a tumult<sup>1</sup> in 728; and though Gregory II. breathed his last in 730, the course of his policy was triumphantly maintained by his successor Gregory III. By this pontiff, in a council holden in 732, a sentence of excommunication was past, in which the emperor was virtually involved; all being declared excommunicate who should destroy, remove, insult, or ridicule the sacred images<sup>2</sup>. And Leo's fleet, sent in 733 against Ravenna, was encountered in the mouths of the Po by the flotilla of that rebellious city, and after an obstinate conflict, was forced to retreat with considerable loss<sup>3</sup>. The papal cause triumphed, and it seems to have been owing entirely to the moderation or prudence of the pontifical counsels, that the Greek emperors were allowed from this time forth to retain any vestige of their power over the Roman territory. But it was not the wish of the Roman bishop to separate entirely from the eastern empire; he therefore repressed the ardour of his enthusiastic partizans, who were anxious to elect a new sovereign. An Exarch was permitted to reside, a nominal viceroy, in Ravenna; and the shadows of Greek connexion and Greek dominion continued to linger over the papal city till obliterated by the closer ties established with Rome, the more real sovereignty acquired over it, by Charlemagne, the destined resuscitator of the western empire.

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. in vit.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, ad an.

It was in 741 that, alarmed by the hostile movements of the Lombard king, who was naturally desirous to take all advantage in his power of the struggle between the emperor and his subjects, Gregory III. sending into France the first papal envoys who had visited the country since it had received that name, implored the aid of the powerful Charles Martel<sup>1</sup>, who held, as mayor of the palace, the substance of that sovereignty which was nominally enjoyed by a Merovingian king. Thus was laid the foundation of an alliance, fraught, as the event was subsequently to prove, with consequences the most momentous to the interests of the papacy and of the universal Church. And from what has now been said, a general idea may be formed of the position in which the papal power stood, and of the principles by which it was animated at an epoch so critical. It has been seen that, amid the general declension of the Church, Rome herself had not escaped contamination; that the apostolic light which had lingered for a while in the footsteps of St. Peter and St. Paul had not sufficed to prevent her from falling into one of the grossest corruptions of practice,—image-worship,—by which the Church has at any period been disfigured; and that her prelates, having been for some time in circumstances calculated to diminish their reverence alike for the apostolical character of their brother bishops throughout the world and for the divinely-sanctioned claim to their obedience of their secular sovereign, were thus already in a state of gradual training for that systematic trampling on the

<sup>1</sup> Anastas.—Gregor. III. Ep. ad Carol. Martel. Cod. Carolin. I. and II.—*Annales Veteres Francorum*, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. v. p. 888.



just privileges of both, which formed the sum and substance of their future usurpation. But though the seed was thus sown, much time, much culture, and the combination of many favouring circumstances were yet required to bring the evil plant to its subsequent state of portentous maturity.

Charles Martel, though he received with much reverence the messengers of Rome, was unwilling or unable to take any active step in consequence of their appeal. But an intercourse between his family and the see of St. Peter having thus begun, his son Pepin, when desirous of taking the crown from the head of the Merovingian Childeric, and reigning in name as well as in reality,—a desire which the general voice of the nation was prepared to sanction,—thought that an additional security would accrue to his new title if an approval of the measure could be obtained from the first bishop of the western world. Zachary, the successor of the Gregories, was therefore consulted on the subject; and he, anxious to conciliate the family whose support formed his only hope of preservation from subjection to the Lombards, replied in general terms, that for the preservation of order it was fitting that the name of king should accompany the power<sup>1</sup>. Fortified by this decision, Pepin, in 752, procured his formal election to the throne of the Franks. Zachary died in the same year; but his successor, Stephen II. reduced to the extremity of distress by the continuance of the Lombard hostilities, and having in vain implored the exertions of Greece to avert the impending ruin, resolved to cross the Alps, and to appeal in person to the gratitude of the warrior to whom Rome had just

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi, *Breviar. Gest. Pontif. Roman.* t. i. p. 297.



rendered so signal a service <sup>1</sup>. The pontiff and the new king of the Franks met, accordingly, at Pontyon, in January 754. Pepin, who must have felt that in doing homage to the patriarch of the West he was confirming his own kingly title, alighted from his horse, bowed down before his guest to the earth, and then walked some time by his side, performing the functions of a simple squire <sup>2</sup>. But on the morrow, in a more private interview with the king, Stephen fell in his turn upon his knees, and with prayers and tears <sup>3</sup> besought Pepin to lead his intrepid warriors across the Alps to the discomfiture of the Lombards, and to the deliverance of the apostolic city. Pepin pledged himself by a solemn oath to grant the request; and leading his Franks into Italy, he so far humbled the Lombard king Astolphus, as to induce him not only to restore all the territories which he had wrested from the Roman province, but to enlarge that province by further cessions <sup>4</sup>, while Pepin himself, who had during these transactions been crowned king of the Franks by Stephen <sup>5</sup> at St. Denis, assumed the office of perpetual guardian of Rome, with the title of patrician; a title by the subordinate character of which the imperial supremacy of Greece was tacitly recognized. But when fresh movements of the Lombards, after Pepin's death, brought his son Charlemagne into Italy, completely to overthrow, in 774, the Lombard

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. Vid. F. Pagi, Breviar. t. i. pp. 299, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Anastas. in vita Stephan. II.

<sup>3</sup> Intus oratorium pariter considentes mox idem beatissimus Papa regem lacrymabiliter deprecatus est.—Anastas.—Annales Veteres Francorum, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. v. p. 890.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Reginonis Monachi, ap. Struv. Rerum German. Scriptor. t. i.—Annales Veteres Francorum.

<sup>5</sup> Chron. Reginon.—Anastas.—Annal. Vet. Franc.

kingdom, and to found in its stead the Carlovingian kingdom of Italy<sup>1</sup>, that prince exercised, not only within the proper limits of that kingdom, but even in the papal city itself, such ample powers of sovereignty, as were utterly incompatible with the continued recognition of imperial authority in any other quarter. And at length that authority, as well in regard of Rome as of the West in general, became formally vested in himself. Without any public preparation, the Pope Leo III., as Charlemagne, on Christmas-day 800, rose from his devotions before the altar of St. Peter's, placed on his head a precious diadem; and the air was instantly rent by the joyous shouts of the populace, in honour of "Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans<sup>2</sup>."

The Roman bishops, could they have ordered things according to their will, would probably have preferred the qualified humiliation of the Lombards, to the total destruction of their monarchy; would rather have profited by aid afforded to them by the kings of the Franks from a distance, than have seen those princes within their walls, their protectors but their masters. As it was, in escaping from the continued pressure of difficulty and danger, they had lost that virtual independence of power which they had so long enjoyed,—they had exchanged a nominal sovereign for a real one. The new emperor was, however, of necessity, a friend to the apostolic see. From the authority of that see it was that his house had derived its original claim to

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Regin

<sup>2</sup> Eginhardi Annales de gestis Caroli Mag.—Annales Laurissenses ad an. 801.—Chron. Regin.—Annales veteres Franc., ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. v. p. 907.

royal honours, as well as he himself his title to the imperial name. He had already shown, on a splendid scale, his zeal for the extension of the Church and his munificence in endowing her. And as the great bulk of his dominions lay beyond the Alps, it was probable that his engagements there would prevent his spending any considerable portion of his reign in Italy, or exercising over the papal city the strict control of a resident sovereign. Intelligent friends to the papal power might therefore, even in what they could perceive at the moment, see much to encourage them as to the results, yet hidden in futurity, of the change which had now occurred: though it would have required the eye of a prophet to foresee that one principal result of the northern sovereign's exaltation would be the establishment of the Roman bishops on a yet higher pinnacle of monarchical power.

By increasing and consolidating the temporal greatness of the pontiff, Charlemagne endeavoured to establish in Italy a power devoted to his interest, and sufficient to overpower all attempts against the continuance of his dominion in that country. He, therefore, considerably enlarged the limits of the Roman territory, of which the Popes were to be the possessors, in the same dependent relation to himself in which they had formerly stood to the Byzantine Cæsars. Aware of the deference paid, in most parts of his empire, to the papal name, he on various occasions promulgated his enactments as resulting from the suggestion or counsel of the apostolic see. And when, acting as he did as the converter, as well as the conqueror, of the outlying portions of his empire, it became necessary to establish bishoprics in the territories added by his means to the Church, he procured, and professed to act upon, the



sanction of the pontiff to the measure<sup>1</sup>; thus extending, in some directions, the papal pre-eminence beyond the ancient limits of the Roman world.

But the greatest boon, in a temporal sense, conferred by him upon the successors of St. Peter, was unquestionably his acceptance of the imperial crown at their hands<sup>2</sup>. His coronation in itself ratified, as it were, and proved, in the eyes of the nations of the West, the claim of the Roman bishop to an universal supremacy. And such a ratification was, during the existence and reign of the Carlovingian princes, repeatedly renewed. Pope Stephen IV. placed, at Rheims, in 816, the imperial crown on the head of Louis, Charlemagne's son and successor<sup>3</sup>. Pascal I. performed, at Rome, the same office for the son of Louis, Lothaire<sup>4</sup>. Louis II., the son of Lothaire, received the diadem from the hands of Leo IV. in 850<sup>5</sup>; and subsequently, in a letter addressed to the Grecian emperor, Basilus the Macedonian, spoke of his having been elevated to the high dignity which he enjoyed, under heaven, by the unction and imposition of pontifical hands<sup>6</sup>; and of his ancestor having received the im-

<sup>1</sup> In his foundation, for instance, of the see of Bremen, Charlemagne describes the first bishop as appointed "*summi et universalis Papæ Hadriani præcepto, necnon Moguntiacensis Episcopi Lullonis omniumque qui adfuerunt pontificum consilio.*"—Adam Bremens. Hist. lib. i. c. 10. ap. Lindenbrog. Scriptor. Rer. German. Septent.

<sup>2</sup> "Inde," says Cantelius, "*consecrandi Imperatoris consuetudo manavit in Oriente, et perpetua certaue lex fuit, ut is unus imperator et esset et diceretur qui a Romano Pontifice Imperii acceperisset insignia.*" Cantelius, Metropol. Urb. Histor. pt. i. Diss. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Annales Bertin. ad ann.—Eginhardi Annal.—Vid. Ermoldi Nigelli Poem. ap. Murator. t. ii. pt. ii. p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Annal. Bertin. ad an.

<sup>5</sup> Annal. Bertin.

<sup>6</sup> "Ad unctionem et sacrationem quâ per summi pontificis manus



perial title "by God's sanction, and the judgment of the Church," expressed by a similar ceremony<sup>1</sup>.

The spiritual dignity of the Roman prelate, thus brilliantly illustrated, not only maintained its ground, but received accessions of consequence at a time in which the progress of events was tending to degrade the episcopal body in general from the high place of respect which in earlier ages it had filled. The Church, in the transalpine dominions of Charlemagne, bore a character materially modified by the rudeness of her semi-barbarous members; and the efforts of that monarch, exerted toward her refinement, promoted at the same time her secularization. His own idea of her nature and essence seems to have been influenced by the impressions natural to a temporal and military monarch. The pope, as we have seen, he treated in several acts of government as his official adviser or chancellor; and his bishops, whom he endowed with ample territories, became his barons,—his counsellors and ministers at home, and the governors of his provinces abroad<sup>2</sup>.

Their positions in the new bishoprics partook, indeed, in some measure, of the military character; as it

*impositionem divinitus sumus ad hoc culmen provecti, aspicientes."*  
Anonymi Salernitani Chronicon, ap. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scriptt.*  
t. ii. pt. ii. p. 245.

<sup>1</sup> "Dei nutu, et Ecclesiæ judicio, summique Pontificis per impositionem," &c. *ib.* p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Which he thought it expedient to entrust to them for two reasons: first, because he believed that persons in holy orders would be less likely than laymen to violate their oaths of fidelity; and secondly, because, if the subjects entrusted to them should revolt, they might use the spiritual arms of the Church, as well as the temporal means of the state, to reduce them to obedience. *Vid. Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, l. v.*

was to them that the sovereign looked to repress the rebellions of his recently acquired subjects, as well as to resist the incursions of barbarous hordes from the wastes beyond the limits of his territory. And even those prelates who had been fixed in stations apparently less likely to bring them into immediate contact with military operations, became, soon after the great monarch's death, of necessity involved in the general movement, military as well as civil, which ensued from the interminable feuds of his degenerate descendants. The spiritual dignitaries, therefore, of the whole Carlovigian empire were placed in a false and unecclesiastical position<sup>1</sup>: and this circumstance, viewed in connection with the general rudeness of their age, and with the gross views and habits natural to nations just reclaimed, and that in the mass, from idolatry, will in great measure enable us to understand the deplorable account given of the Western Church in the ninth century by the writers of the time.

In forming our estimate of the character of the clerical body at any given epoch, we should, it is true, probably deceive ourselves, did we omit to take into calculation the effect of that feeling of hostility to the Church, her ordinances, and her ministers, which is, unhappily, too intimately interwoven with our corrupt nature, not to manifest itself in some measure in the annals of each succeeding generation. Of that holy institution we are sure, in the pages of the contemporary historians of any age, to hear the worst. Her enemies will not fail to blazon forth, with exagger-

<sup>1</sup> Thereby placing, of course, the sovereign in a position as irregular. We find Charlemagne styled by a writer of the ninth century, "Episcopus episcoporum." Monach. Sangallens. de gestis Caroli M. libri duo, in Canisii Lectt. Antiq. t. ii. pt. iii. p. 67.

tions, every error and every corruption which may give a plea for their animosity toward her, and tend to lower her in the general estimation of mankind. And, with views very different, her best and truest friends will often use language tending in some degree to a similar result; and will breathe forth their grief and indignation against her defiling sins in a tone calculated to impress those who feel less warmly on the subject, with an exaggerated idea of the evils which form the themes of their reprehension. But, making every allowance for such causes of error in the case before us, we can easily conceive, when the spiritual and unearthly powers confided by the great Head of the universal Church to His bishops, were systematically vested in the same hands with the more tangible authority of municipal governors, magistrates, and military leaders, that the community, ever more inclined to walk, in the language of Scripture, by sight rather than by faith, would learn mainly to fix their attention upon the latter of these two discordant characters thus unnaturally united; and either to forget the bishop in the count, the pastor and the apostle in the prefect and the warrior; or else, as far as episcopacy preserved a substantive essence in their eyes, to degrade it in their thoughts, by assimilating it to offices created by merely secular power, supported by merely tangible means, and exercising a merely political authority.

And this diversion, so to call it, of the episcopate from its original destination brought about, as a matter of course, the introduction into the episcopal body of persons by no means qualified for sacerdotal pre-eminence. In theory, the right of election to vacant bishoprics was recognised by Charlemagne and his descendants as existing, according to ancient and



canonical practice, in the clergy and people of the diocese<sup>1</sup>. But the founder of the Carlovingian dynasty was on several occasions induced, either by peculiar circumstances, or by the ambition and intrigues of those about him, to exercise a more than merely influential or confirmatory authority on such occasions<sup>2</sup>. And though his son and successor, Louis the Debonair, professed his respect for the Church's elective privileges in the same terms with his father<sup>3</sup>, he frequently placed persons selected by himself in the sacred office by virtual nomination. We find the prelates assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, addressing this emperor in terms which imply that the responsibility for the result of episcopal elections, and consequently that the power of directing them, was habitually recognised as resting with himself<sup>4</sup>. And subsequent princes of the Carlovingian house exercised on such occasions the privileges of monarchical control with a yet more unsparing hand. Whatever, indeed, might have been thought of the Christian liberty of the Church in the selection of her spiritual pastors, the sovereign had unquestionably a plausible right to dictate in the nomination of those to whom he was to look for the maintenance of order, the administration of justice, and the collection of revenue, in the different districts of

<sup>1</sup> *Sacrorum Canonum non ignari, ut in Dei nomine sancta Ecclesia suo liberius potiretur honore, ad sensum ordini ecclesiastico præbuimus; ut scilicet episcopi per electionem cleri et populi secundum statuta canonum de propria diœcesi eligantur.*—*Capitular. Car. Mag. anno 803.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. Monach. Sangallens. et Thomassin. pt. ii. lib. ii. c. xxi. § viii.*

<sup>3</sup> *Capitular. ann. 816. ap. Baluz. t. i. p. 564.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hard. t. iv. p. 13. c. 9.*



his empire. The transfer of elective power from the hands of the Church herself to those of the temporal sovereign, may be regarded as a natural and necessary accompaniment to the process of her internal secularization.

And while thus becoming dominant in episcopal elections, the monarchs naturally exerted with still less of scruple their arbitrary power in cases of nomination to the rich abbeys, which through the liberality exercised or encouraged by their race were now rising to importance in their dominions; cases in which ancient usage and canon law were less directly opposed to their authoritative intervention. Abbacies, as well as sees, were consequently bestowed by them from such motives as usually influence princes in the distribution of places of honour and responsibility of a secular kind. They sometimes selected those who had rendered them services of a political or personal kind, or whose talents fitted them to superintend the sovereign's interest in the seats of their spiritual jurisdiction; sometimes they made from their favourites, their companions in sport, or their parasites, a yet more unworthy choice; and sometimes, forgetful of the holy nature of the things with which they presumed to traffic, they ventured to make ecclesiastical stations and dignities the subjects of bargain and sale; conferring a vacant benefice on the individual who either paid down the largest sum for it into their coffers, or who promised the most ample contributions from its future proceeds.

No sooner, indeed, had the munificence of Charlemagne rendered offices in the Church objects of eager desire to the worldly and the covetous, than the crime which, from the unhappy man who first attempted to

purchase the gifts of the Holy Spirit, has received the appellation of Simony, began to spread through the western empire to a fearful extent; and it became customary to purchase with gold, as well admittance into every rank of the sacred ministry, as the pastoral mission implied in the appointment to stations of ecclesiastical superintendence and responsibility. As early as 829, the prelates assembled in council at Paris found it necessary to urge Louis the Debonair to use all his influence in extirpating "this heresy so detestable, this pest so hateful to God," from the Roman Church<sup>1</sup>. The synod of Meaux, in 845, renewed the warning<sup>2</sup>. And Leo IV., in or about 847, denounced it in an epistle to the Bishops of Brittany as a crime condemned by many councils<sup>3</sup>. But it was difficult to impress the enormity of the practice upon an age which had become accustomed to see not only ecclesiastical offices, but holy orders themselves, bestowed on grounds the most frivolous or unworthy. The nobles, in those times, continually procured the ordination of their younger sons or relatives, for the sole purpose of qualifying them for the acceptance of lucrative benefices; giving them, while they did so, the same military training and secular habits with the rest of the family. Others procured the admission to the priesthood of dependants whom they intended to retain in subordinate stations in their household. "Such," says the high-principled Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, in the time of Louis the Debonair, "is the disgrace of our times, a disgrace to be deplored with the whole fountain of our tears, that there is scarcely one to be found

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. iv. c. ii. p. 1302.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1490.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. t. v. p. 1.

“who aspires to any degree of honour or temporal distinction who has not his domestic priest; and this, not that he may obey him, but that he may command his obedience alike in things lawful and things unlawful; in things human, and things divine; so that these chaplains are constantly to be found serving the tables, mixing the strained wine, leading out the dogs, man-aging the ladies’ horses, or looking after the lands<sup>1</sup>.” And because it was of course impossible, however they might have desired it, to obtain, for stations so degrading, respectable members of the sacerdotal body; “for what good clergyman,” continues the indignant prelate just quoted, “could bear to defile his character and life with men like these?” they selected, without the slightest reference either to knowledge or principle, those whom they thought most likely to perform satisfactorily the various domestic offices above enumerated, and then called on Agobard himself, or his brother prelates, to admit, as a matter of course, the “clerkings<sup>2</sup>,” as they contemptuously styled them, to holy orders; a request with which the regulations of the empire, though no human enactments could in truth be binding in such a matter, compelled the insulted bishops to comply<sup>3</sup>.

Aware of these facts, we need not be surprised to find, in the enactments of various synods of the time,

<sup>1</sup> Ita ut plerique inveniantur, qui aut ad mensas ministrent, aut saccata vina misceant, aut canes ducant, aut caballos, quibus feminæ sedent, regant, aut agellos provideant.—Agobard. de Privilegio et jure Sacerdotii, § xi.

<sup>2</sup> Clericionem.—Agob. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Capitular. lib. i. c. xc. et lib. v. c. clxxviii.—Hincmari Capitula, anno 874. c. v.



the evidences of a state of things, in relation to the sacred ministry, most irregular and disgraceful. The bishops, for instance, assembled at Paris in 829, complained that many of their brethren in the ministry were so occupied by the pursuit of gain, and by their entanglement in various worldly avocations, that they suffered many infants, in the districts subject to their charge, to die without the blessing of Baptism<sup>1</sup>. The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, found it necessary to prohibit extortion and intemperance in the episcopal order, and to speak of several members of that order as living away from their dioceses, to the neglect alike of the performance of divine service, of preaching, of the care of their flocks, and of that hospitality which became the episcopal station<sup>2</sup>. The synod of Pavia, in 850, prohibited to the clergy the practice of sumptuous banquets, and the use of dogs and hawks<sup>3</sup>. And that distinguished prelate, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, judged it expedient to issue a decree against the pawning, by his clergy, of the chalice or paten of the Eucharist, the covering of the altar, or the sacerdotal robe<sup>4</sup>. But enactments like these, impaired as had become the constitution of the Western Church, and crippled as were her proper and essential powers, seem rather to have been put forth as protests against the advance of corruption, than with any sanguine expectation of materially interfering with its general progress.

The theory of papal supremacy, when presented to churchmen in connexion with a state of things like

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. iv. pp. 1305, and 1315-16.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1392, et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. t. v. p. 25. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 393.



this, could scarce fail to commend itself to many, through the hope, which it encouraged, that the primate who, by the Carlovingian system, was brought into sensible contact with the whole western world, might, by his paramount authority, be successful in crushing many evils, too great to succumb to the efforts of minor authorities. Rome, fallen as she was from apostolic purity, was yet undoubtedly exempt from that grossness of corruption, which prevailed in the semi-civilized and semi-Christianized North. Favoured, too, by the circumstances which we have mentioned, she had maintained a degree of independence, which no other branch of the Church, toward the middle of the ninth century, could boast. The "summus pontifex et universalis Papa," as Pascal I. was styled by Louis the Debonair, was, though a subject, in some sense a powerful ally to the imperial throne. His influence was essential to the peace and security of a branch of the western empire, which, while most important, was at the same time distant from the main seat of the Carlovingian strength and resources. Louis therefore, and his immediate successors, the emperors or kings of Italy, though they asserted over the papal city the general rights of sovereignty, and attempted systematically to maintain the ancient imperial prerogative of presiding over pontifical elections, were yet forced on many occasions to temporize, or even to acquiesce in the violation of their mandates. Stephen IV. and Pascal I., the two pontiffs elected next after the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, were both chosen and consecrated without awaiting the imperial fiat; and though a subsequent pontiff, by the imperial direction, passed a decree which rendered necessary the presence of a representative of the sovereign at the elective cere-

mony, yet the enactment was repeatedly broken through. Such, indeed, was usually the critical state of the papal city during a vacancy of the holy see, that the immediate election of a new pontiff was often a matter of indispensable necessity, even to the civil security of the place. Leo IV., one of the most virtuous popes of the age, was thus hastily elected, in 847, that Rome might be the better protected against the assault of the Saracens, who were then in considerable force in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>. Pontiffs so chosen paid, it is true, all subsequent homage to the imperial dignity, and explained, as though anomalous, the circumstances of their elevation. But the occurrence of such events, explained as they might be, tended of course to confirm, while it illustrated, the comparative independence of pontifical election from monarchical control. The divisions, too, and consequent weakness, of the Carolingian sovereigns, when the extended territories of the empire were divided among them, brought forward the Roman bishops into new relations toward the sovereigns of the West. Louis the Debonair being at variance with his sons, Gregory IV., in 833, crossed the Alps, and arrived at the scene of action in the character of a mediator. The jealousy of the German prelates resented his interference, and the attempt was unsuccessful. But the misconduct of the princes whom the pontiff had come to befriend, their relentless cruelty to their conquered father, and the miseries which accrued to their subjects as the fruit of their unnatural rebellion, might well induce a prevalent wish that the papal voice had been more influential; a prevalent

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. and F. Pagi *Breviarium Gest. Rom. Pontif.* t. i. p. 365.



desire to behold something more than a mere form in the ceremony by which the successor of St. Peter was made to appear a superior arbitrator between princes contending for a crown.

Aware of this tendency in the public mind, we shall the more readily understand the fact, otherwise inexplicable, that, toward the middle of the ninth century, the theory of papal supremacy, already existing, if we may so say, in its great but yet unconnected elements, received definite outlines and a systematic consolidation, by the promulgation, and almost undisputed reception, in the Western Church, of a series of forgeries of the most extraordinary kind.

Various collections of the canons, the written law of the Church, had at different periods been made. The compilation of this kind in authority at Rome at the commencement of the Carlovingian era was that of Dionysius Exiguus; which was, indeed, generally revered throughout the western world; but in some countries the collection had been enlarged by the incorporation into it of the acts of local councils and other matters of detail, from records extant in various places. Such was the case in Spain, where a collection of canons existed in a form thus enlarged; which, being dignified by the name of the celebrated Isidore of Seville, was known, by name at least, to the various Churches of Europe, and esteemed, it would seem justly, as an ample and authentic collection of the records of Christian antiquity. But at the period spoken of,—toward the middle of the ninth century,—spurious exemplars of this collection made their appearance in Germany and other parts of the Carlovingian territory; exemplars which contained, in addition to the mass of authentic matter for which the collection was renowned,

a variety of letters, decrees, and other documents, professedly the work of bishops of Rome, from the very earliest periods of the Church's history ; but in truth the forgeries of the author, whoever he may have been, of the collection in its altered form. Not to mention the palpable anachronisms with which they are fraught ; the citation, for instance, of texts from translations composed subsequently to their ostensible date ; their language, and the spirit which they breathe, is throughout adapted to the circumstances of the times in which they were made public, and not to those of their imaginary origin. The primitive fathers are made to use expressions which did not become current till long after their epoch, and to direct their censures to crimes and evils which, familiar as they were in the ninth century, were undreaded, because unknown, in the earlier ages of the Church's existence. The spurious series is throughout consistent with itself, and the scope of the whole is the assertion of the Church's independence from every species of secular dominion or jurisdiction. As against the laity, the episcopal office is magnified ; a bishop, it is declared, is not to be condemned, whatever his offence, by any earthly tribunal ; the sheep are not even to bring an accusation against the shepherd, but to leave the work of correction, if correction be necessary, to his ecclesiastical superior ; and this superior is throughout declared to be the Roman pontiff, who is styled in a number of the documents " the bishop of the holy and universal Church <sup>1</sup>," and to whom alone is attributed the power of judging and punishing episcopal offenders ; though this power,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Stephani 1 Ep. i. ap. Harduin. Concil. t. i. p. 143, et Pontiani Ep. 2, ibid. t. i. p. 117.



in the case of inferior members of the sacred order, is recognised in the provincial metropolitans<sup>1</sup>. In general, too, it is to the pope that all causes of any importance are to be referred<sup>2</sup>. His sanction is requisite for the session of every council, and his fiat alone gives authority to its decrees<sup>3</sup>. The apostolic see of Rome is the head and hinge of all churches; and as the door is directed by the hinge, so by the authority of that see, according to the Lord's disposal, all churches are governed<sup>4</sup>.

Such being the nature of the forgery, it might at first sight appear to have been concocted at Rome, and for Roman purposes. But such does not seem to be the case: the researches of the learned into this curious point have generally led them to the conclusion, that the collection in question was first made public, between the years 830 and 850, at Mentz<sup>5</sup>; a deacon of which city, Benedict by name, lies under strong suspicion of having either perpetrated the deception, or wittingly assisted in its extension; and that, it would seem, for purposes to which the exaltation of the

<sup>1</sup> Eleutherii Ep. ap. Harduin. t. i. pp. 101, 102, et Marcelli Decreta, *ibid.* p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Marcelli Dec. ut sup.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Epist. Afrorum ad Damasum, et Damasi rescriptum ad Afros c. ii. ap. Harduin. t. i. pp. 763, 764.

<sup>4</sup> Sicut cardine ostium regitur, sic hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiæ, Domino disponente, reguntur. Anacleti Ep. 3. Hard. t. i. p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> One of the documents contains passages from the acts of a synod which was holden at Paris in 829; this therefore is the earliest possible period of the forgery; and on the other hand, in 857, it had acquired sufficient notoriety to be cited, as we shall shortly see, in a public document.

Roman see was but subsidiary and subordinate. The documents may indeed be regarded as embodying the prevalent wishes of the Germanic Churches at the period in question; wishes in which the compiler, whether he were Benedict or any other ecclesiastic, may naturally be supposed to have participated. Bishops, in those semi-barbarous realms, were exposed to violences of all kinds from tyrannic and unprincipled nobles and rulers; to whom their wealth formed a tempting prize, and who, in that era of imperfect justice, found little difficulty in alleging legal excuses for their spoliation. Under such circumstances they found it difficult, either to maintain their station of dignity in the public estimation, or to exert with any semblance of independence, their episcopal authority; and from these evils, they could by no other means be so effectually protected, as by a public recognition of the doctrine, that they were responsible for their conduct to ecclesiastical superiors alone.

Yet a complete subjection to their respective metropolitans might seem to them fraught with dangers scarcely less to be deprecated. These most dignified members of the episcopal order were, of the whole body, the most exposed to the influence of kings and nobles, and to the manifold corruptions of the time; not to mention that they were frequently advanced to their archiepiscopal dignity, on account of their experienced or expected subserviency to the views of secular dignitaries. The unchecked dominion of these over their suffragans might therefore have proved, to the latter, a secular tyranny under another name; a tyranny more galling than the direct exertion of despotic authority, inasmuch as, being less open to suspicion, it might be more unsparingly exerted. In connexion, therefore,



with the teaching which declared their exemption from direct secular jurisdiction, the bishops of Germany and Gaul were glad to receive a doctrine which enabled them to set in opposition, when necessary, to their legitimate ecclesiastical superiors, the paramount authority of a Roman pontiff. They willingly learned to believe that it was as that pontiff's deputies and representatives alone that archbishops wielded the metropolitan prerogative; that their decrees in matters of Church government emanated in effect from him, and were reversible at his pleasure; and that even in the exercise of their most important right, that of episcopal consecration, they acted with authority derivative from the great source of all ecclesiastical power, the œcumenical see of St. Peter.

Under this state of feeling in the Church, the system set forth in detail in the spurious decretals of Isidore had been, as we have seen, for some time tending to its accomplishment in practice, when first that celebrated collection appeared. The immediate effect of the forgery was, therefore, rather to sanction and consolidate relations already existing between the different orders in the Christian hierarchy, than to introduce new ones; and though the work, having been once received, undoubtedly did much toward handing down in its completeness the system of papal monarchy to subsequent ages, it derived its own weight, at the epoch of its origin, from the tendency which already existed in that system to perfect and extend itself. In the forgeries of the German deacon, divines found authorities, apparently of the most indisputable kind, in support of points which they were eagerly desirous to establish. They found themselves enabled to assert their liberties, and to denounce the crimes of their

contemporaries, in what professed to be the authentic voice of catholic antiquity; and, under these circumstances, they were not likely to scrutinize, with an eye of critical suspicion, the collection presented to them with the outward semblance of genuineness, and with the sanction of a venerable name. The altered "Decretals of Isidore" obtained, consequently, undisputed acceptance in the Western Church. Even the sagacious Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, the most distinguished Gallic churchman of the ninth century, though he disputed, with regard to some points, their authority, did not advance any doubt of their authenticity<sup>1</sup>. And thus it came to pass, that, through the successful fraud of a German ecclesiastic, the papal supremacy, or rather monarchy, was established on a new and durable basis; that sovereignty of the Roman patriarch, which till then might be said to depend, for its continued recognition, upon the indistinct impressions, the mutable feelings, habits, and circumstances of each succeeding generation, receiving the solidity and permanence of a system visibly sanctioned by antiquity, illustrated by a long list of precedents, and defined with the accuracy of a written law.

In a more detailed history of the times now treated of, many subordinate causes and principles would demand their share of notice, as having co-operated in bringing out the great change thus accomplished in the transference of supreme spiritual power from the hands of the collective hierarchy of the West to those of one single, king-like, prelate: and even in the cursory account which we are now giving, it seems necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Hincmari opusc. adv. Hincm. Laudun. c. 24. Opp. t. ii. p. 471.



advert to one of these secondary agents in the revolution;—the spirit of monasticism. For monastic bodies seem, in the adjustment of the question between what may be styled episcopal aristocracy and pontifical monarchy, to have played a part somewhat similar to that filled in the struggles, of rather a later date, between secular kings and the baronial vassals, by the municipal corporations of Europe. The policy of these last perpetually led them to add weight to the power of the crown, from a fear of the more obnoxious tyranny of petty oligarchs. And it need not surprise us to find a line of conduct parallel to theirs adopted, with reference to the hierarchy, by the monastic brotherhoods; opposed as such a line must seem to all primitive views of the Church's polity.

For all institutions emanating from man have some besetting evil tendency or other; and that of religious societies, even when free, in their original constitution, from the sin of violating the Church's discipline, is, unquestionably, to throw that discipline into the back-ground; as though the bonds of union, thus humanly contrived, obscured to the minds of men the idea of that more sacred union,—our fellowship with each other as members of the one Church Catholic,—which Heaven has appointed for us. And it is probably, in part, to this cause,—though something must undoubtedly be ascribed to the general misconduct of the prelacy,—that we are to trace that opposition to episcopal power which generally, and as a rule, distinguished the monastic policy. The inmates of convents were habitually afraid and jealous of all control which the bishops of their respective districts, as such, might exercise over them or their concerns. In a variety of ways, they systematically laboured to procure for themselves an exemption from

the jurisdiction of these, their legitimate superiors; and they were consequently ever ready to enter into a connection with a distant authority;—as was, in most cases, that of the Roman patriarch,—which held out to them any prospect of an emancipation from it.

The mention of the above singular forgery can scarcely fail to remind the learned reader of another,—nearly, as it should seem, of the same date,—the celebrated “*Donatio Constantini*,” by which it was made to appear, that the popes were possessed of the rights of sovereignty over Rome, in virtue of a deed of gift from the first Christian emperor. The history of this second fabrication does not seem to come, equally with that of the decretals, within the scope of a narration intended to describe the growth of the Roman bishop’s spiritual supremacy. Yet the spiritual government, if not the spiritual power, of the pontiffs, was materially modified by the influence of the supposititious “donation,” which tended to assimilate yet more to an earthly royalty a power in itself too royal,—too like that of a secular monarchy,—to harmonize with the true character or spirit of the Church.

The origin of the fabricated decretals is not, it has been said already, traceable in any manner to the Roman see. Nor does it seem to have been by popes or their dependants, that the spurious documents thus promulged were first appealed to as authoritative. We find the Carlovingian monarch, Charles the Bald, quoting them, in a letter addressed by him to the counts and bishops of his kingdom, in 857<sup>1</sup>, while the first recorded instance of an appeal to them on the part

<sup>1</sup> Synod. Carisiac. ap. Hard. t. v. p. 118.



of a Roman bishop occurred in 865, in the time of Nicholas I.<sup>1</sup>; the history of whose pontificate forms a striking illustration of the system of papal preponderance which their contents recognised and confirmed. Of that pontiff, who ascended the apostolic chair in 858, we read that he, first among the Roman bishops, was crowned in a kingly manner<sup>2</sup>, having placed around the long single-pointed mitre of his predecessors that golden circlet which formed the recognised emblem of sovereignty. The emperor Louis II., instead of resenting this innovation, honoured the ceremonies with his presence; and when, during his stay at Rome, he encountered the new pope in the street, he alighted from his horse and led that of the pontiff for the distance of a bow-shot<sup>3</sup>. This emperor's acknowledgment of the derivation of his own power from the papal authority has been already mentioned; and his conduct on other occasions was consistent with the recog-

<sup>1</sup> Epist. ad universos episcopos Galliæ, Harduin. t. v. p. 590.

<sup>2</sup> Coronatur . . . urbs exultat, clerus lætatur, senatus et populi plenitudo magnifice gratulabatur. Anastas. in Vita.—Regno de more insignitus, mitrâ turbinatâ, scilicet cum coronâ. Mos ille coronandi Rom. Pontifices antiquissimus erat, licet ante Nic. I. nullum ejusmodi coronationis nobis occurrerit exemplum. F. Pagi, Breviar. t. ii. p. 29.

Nic. I. anno circiter 860, circulum aureum civilis potestatis insigne mitræ addidisse perhibetur; eadem tamen quæ prius erat servata mitræ figura est, mitræ quæ nunc ab episcopis adhiberi solet longe absimilis: hæc enim bifida, et duos in apices distracta; illa vero oblonga erat, et in acumen desinens; cujus usus ad Bonifacium usque VIII. a quo . . . circulo aureo alter item additus anno 1300, cui Urbanus V., anno 1365, tertium etiam imposuit.—Cantelius, Metropol. urbium hist. pt. ii. Diss. ii. But the date of these additions is not perfectly clear. See a note to book iii. cap. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Anastas. in vita Nic. I.



niton. John, Archbishop of Ravenna, whom Nicholas, as exalted above all metropolitans, had summoned to answer charges which had been brought against him before the papal tribunal, refused to obey the summons. And when the pontiff, upon this, pronounced him excommunicate, the archbishop, eager to maintain the dignity of his see, which was esteemed second to none in Italy but Rome itself, presented himself before Louis at Pavia, and besought him to command the abrogation of the sentence. But the monarch, declining to take any such step, directed him to lay aside his pride and to humble himself before "that great pope," "to whom," said Louis, "we and the whole Church bow, and show him all duty and obedience<sup>1</sup>." And so prevalent, in the minds of all, had now become the idea of a legitimate supremacy in the successor of St. Peter, that the people of Pavia not only shrunk from receiving the second prelate of Italy into their houses, but were reluctant to hold, even in the way of buying and selling, any intercourse with his attendants<sup>2</sup>. And being thus strong at home, in the support of his sovereign and of public feeling, Nicholas ventured to interfere with the concerns of other countries, in a commanding tone. Lothaire, king of the territory, since styled from him Lotharingia, or Lorraine, had put away, after much ill treatment of her, his wife Teutberga, and married another, named Waldrada, in her stead. And his influence with the ecclesiastical authorities of his own country had been sufficient to procure their official sanction to this disgraceful conduct. But Nicholas, rendered indignant by the accounts which reached him

<sup>1</sup> Anastas. in vita Nic. I. ap. Muratori, t. iii. p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

of these foul transactions, brought into action against the profligate king and his prelates the whole weight of the papal power. By the threat of excommunication, he compelled Lothaire to put Waldrada away, and to restore the injured and repudiated Teutberga to her queenly dignity<sup>1</sup>; at the same time enforced the deposition of Thietgaud and Gunthar, the archbishops respectively of Treves and Cologne, who had been mainly instrumental to the accomplishment of their sovereign's guilty design<sup>2</sup>. And during these events, he humbled, in another way, the powerful Hincmar of Rheims himself, by compelling him to restore to the clerical station certain persons whom that prelate had deposed as uncanonically ordained, and to re-establish in his diocese Rothad, bishop of Soissons, who had appealed to Rome against the decree of the Rhemish archbishop and his synod, which deprived him of it<sup>3</sup>.

"Nicholas ruled," says an ancient chronicler<sup>4</sup>, "over kings and tyrants, and, as though lord of the world, exceeded them in authority." The account is exaggerated; but, written as it was within half a century after the demise of Nicholas, it may be taken as indicating the general feeling of the time, with respect to the position which he assumed and maintained in Europe; and shows to how great an extent he was considered to have illustrated and enforced the system embodied in the decretals of Isidore. That system, from his time, became the received theory of ecclesiastical govern-

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Regin.

<sup>2</sup> Hard. t. v. p. 571 et seqq. Chron. Regin.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. v. p. 577. De Marca, de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, l. vii. c. xxiii. et xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Regibus ac tyrannis imperavit, eisque ac si dominus orbis terrarum autoritate præfuit.—Chron. Regin. apud Pistor. t. i. p. 70.



ment in the Latin Church; and, though the weakness of the successors of Nicholas, or the difficulties in which, at various periods, they were involved, were destined, for some time longer, to prevent its coming into settled and permanent operation; so that his pontificate may rather be regarded as a momentary type, or fore-shadowing, than as the actual commencement, of the great ecclesiastical empire of the middle ages; yet the recognition of that empire thenceforth, in theory at least, was general; and its non-realization, in any subsequent instance or epoch, may be regarded as an exception to an admitted and respected rule<sup>1</sup>.

We have thus traced some of the principal steps by which the constitution of the western Church was in effect converted for a time into a monarchy; the power which the great Founder of the Church had bequeathed to the episcopal body throughout the world devolving, as far as the Latin nations were concerned, upon one king-like prelate in the seat of ancient empire. It is a prevalent but most erroneous notion, that this his elevation resulted from an over-strained,—a too exclusive,—adherence to the old Catholic impressions of primitive Christianity; to what, in short, often bear among us the designation of high Church principles; whereas, in truth, the direct contrary was the case. It was in opposition to those principles, or in a forgetful-

<sup>1</sup> We find the archbishop of Mentz and the collective hierarchy of Germany thus expressing themselves in 895, in the 30th canon of the council of Tribur:—*In memoriam beati Petri Apostoli, honoremus sanctam Romanam et Apostolicam sedem: ut quæ nobis sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis, esse debeat magistra ecclesiasticæ rationis. Quare servanda est cum mansuetudine humilitas, ut licet vix ferendum ab illâ sanctâ sede imponatur jugum, conferamus, et piâ devotione toleremus.*—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 448.



ness of them, that the novelty of papal monarchy arose; it was on the ruins of the ancient and authorized ecclesiastical polity,—on the general degradation of the prelacy of Western Europe,—that was based the kingly throne of the successors to St. Peter. The pontiffs thus exalted did not so much claim new privileges for themselves, as deprive their episcopal brethren of privileges originally common to the hierarchy. Even the titles by which these autocratical prelates, in the plenitude of their power, delighted to style themselves, “*Summus Sacerdos*,” “*Pontifex Maximus*,” “*Vicarius Christi*,” “*Papa*” itself, had, nearer to the primitive times, been the honourable appellations of every bishop; as “*Sedes Apostolica*” had been the designation of every bishop’s throne<sup>1</sup>. The ascription of these titles, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Bingham Origin. Ecclesiast. bk. ii. cap. ii. and Thomassin. pt. i. lib. i. cap. iv. § 2. 5. As for “*Vicarius Christi*,” strangely as the title is now sometimes spoken of, it simply conveyed, as originally applied, a recognition of the great truth that all authority given to men on earth is but the derivative and representative of His who is exalted above all authority and principality and power in heaven. As such it was, in the earlier part of the middle ages, currently applied, not only to bishops, the peculiar representatives of superhuman power, but even to secular princes. “*Vicarii Christi*” was the style assumed by the prelates assembled at Thionville in 884 (Harduin, t. iv. p. 1466) and unhesitatingly applied to his episcopal hearers by the Monk Abbo of St. Germain des Près, in a sermon preached about the beginning of the 10th century (Abbonis sermo ii. ap D’Achery, Spicileg. t. i. p. 337). At Meaux, in 845, the bishops spoke of themselves by the equipollent designation “*Vicars of God*” (Harduin, t. iv. p. 1500). As late as 1024, Aribio archbishop of Mentz is described by a rhyming biographer of the Emperor Conrad the Salic as saying to that prince “*ad summam dignitatem pervenisti, Vicarius es Christi*” (Wippo de vita Chunradi Salici. Pistor. Script. t. iii. p. 466). And the sovereign of England is declared to be “*Vicarius summi Regis*” in article xiv. of the ecclesiastical

to the pope, only gave to the terms a new force, because that ascription became exclusive; because, that is, the bishops in general were stripped of honours to which their claims were as well founded as those of their Roman brother; who became, by the change, not so strictly universal, as sole, bishop<sup>1</sup>. The degradation of the collective hierarchy, as involved in such a relative exaltation of one of its members, was seen and resisted by one not likely to entertain unreasonable or exaggerated views of the dangers to be expected from Roman aggrandizement, the truly great and good pope Gregory I. "I beseech your holiness," said this pontiff to the patriarch of Alexandria, who had addressed him, contrary to his previously expressed desire, by the title of 'Papa Universalis,' "to do so no more; for that "is taken from you which is bestowed, in an unreasonable degree, upon another . . . . I do not reckon that "to be honour, in which I see their due honour taken "from my brethren. For my honour is the honour "of the Universal Church—the solid strength of my "brethren; I then am truly honoured, when the proper "share of honour is assigned to each and to all. But, "if your holiness styles me 'universal Pope,' you re-

laws of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by William I. (Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 988.) Since the Reformation the title in question has been of right claimed again for our English prelates. Vid. Bingham, l. c. § 10. "We," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "are ambassadors and legates for Christ; Christ's vicars, not the pope's delegates . . . and therefore it is a strange usurpation that the pope "arrogates that to himself by impropriation, which is common to "him with all the bishops of Christendom."—Dissuasive from Popery, c. i. § 10.

<sup>1</sup> "*Ecclesiæ catholicæ episcopus*," a style frequently adopted by the pontiffs in latter times, was consequently an accurate statement of their supposed character.

“nounce that dignity for yourself which you ascribe  
 “universally to me. But let this be done no more.  
 “. . . . . My predecessors have endeavoured, by cherish-  
 “ing the honour of all members of the priesthood  
 “throughout the world, to preserve their own in the  
 “sight of the Almighty<sup>1</sup>.”

And even at a much more mature stage of the growth of papal pretension, in the eleventh century itself, we find the pontiff Leo IX., in an epistle to the Grecian Patriarch Michael Cerularius, repeating the assertion, made by Gregory in the above epistle, that his predecessor and namesake, Leo the Great, to whom the title of œcumenical patriarch had been offered by the Council of Chalcedon<sup>2</sup>, had repudiated the proud appellation, by the ascription of which to one prelate an affront would be offered to the equal dignity of all<sup>3</sup>.

But such a statement, in the later Leo's mouth, expressed the sentiments of past times, rather than of his own. As time went on, as circumstances tended more and more toward such a concentration of the privileges of the hierarchy in the occupant of one individual see, the due rights of ordinary prelates were forgotten alike by the Roman patriarchs and by the episcopal body in the West. Had the bishops in general been animated by truly Catholic principles, they could never, assuredly, have acquiesced in, or rather have aided to bring about, the surrender, into a brother pre-

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Mag. Ep. viii. 30. Vid. Joann. Diacon. in vita Gregorii, lib. iv. c. 58, et Thomassin. pt. i. lib. i. cap. xi. § 15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Thomassin. vet. et nov. Eccl. discip. pt. i. lib. i. cap. xi. 32.

<sup>3</sup> “Superbum refutavit vocabulum penitus, quo videbatur par dignitas subtrahi cunctis per orbem præsulibus, dum uni ex toto arrogaretur.”—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 932.



late's hand, of their inherent and independent powers. But we may not harshly judge them. The Church's immediate advantage and security appeared to point out to them the change. Oppressed and endangered in their respective countries, they saw in Rome the only ally to whom they could efficiently appeal; in the admission of her supremacy, the only principle by which they could secure either freedom for the ordinary discharge of their episcopal duties, or opportunities of advancing the plans which they might form of ecclesiastical improvement or renovation. And, thus tempted, we need not marvel if they too generally forgot the high, the imperative, duty of clinging at all times to the divinely appointed order of things under which the Church commenced her existence; of maintaining under all circumstances, and at all hazards, that indispensable key-stone of her spiritual fabric, her ancient apostolical polity.

The Roman bishops themselves, had they been untainted with the general grossness of perception of the age, would have resisted the accomplishment of this unauthorized mutation in the Church's constitution, as strenuously as Gregory the Great had opposed himself to its theory. But the early purity of the faith was, as we have seen, obscured: both at Rome and elsewhere, the fine gold had become dim; and the external form, the outward fabric, so to call it, of the holy Church, therefore underwent, in men's eyes, a modification, analogous to that of the eternal, and in themselves unalterable, doctrines which she internally enshrined. In the world without her, feudalism was now the dominant tendency of the day; the leading political phenomenon of the ages which succeeded that of Carolingian sovereignty was the rise and growth of that

great system, the strength and stability of which consisted in its classifying and compacting to each other the different ranks and orders, by a succession of gradations, so as to give to each individual a definite place in society; a definite relation, though it might be through many intervening links, to the throne. Monarchy, under that system, began to assume a new aspect, and to rest on a basis far firmer than before; acting, if we may so say, on the whole of society; and resembling in its elevation, not the capital of the slender and solitary column, but the apex of the solid and substantial pyramid. And the Church, in proportion as her real nature and character is imperfectly understood, is ever exposed to the temptation of modifying in some degree her constitution by that of the political world around her. Even irrespectively, therefore, of all causes previously alluded to, it grew, in great measure, out of the natural course and progress of events, that in such a period of political transition, the patriarchal pre-eminence of the Roman prelate should gradually come to be confounded by his brethren with the authority of a spiritual lord paramount; and that the aristocracy, if it may be so styled, by which the Church was originally governed, should thus in effect give place to a monarchy, as to a system more accordant with the character assumed by the secular governments of the nations.

We sometimes hear this papal empire spoken of as though it had been the direct, the originating, cause of all those strange corruptions of doctrine and practice which during any portion of the middle ages arose to acceptation in the Church. But a very brief inquiry will suffice to convince us of the fallacy of this view of things, or to prove to us that those corruptions derived, for the most part, their origin from other sources.

Image-worship, for instance, the most extraordinary, perhaps, of all the errors into which the Church has at any time been permitted to fall, was, as we have seen, a product of the warm and excitable imagination of the East. Purgatory was first treated of, in a tangible way, by the great Augustine, bishop of the African city of Hippo. And Transubstantiation, first set forth in form in the writings of a monk of Corbie, near Amiens, was, as the reader will learn during the course of this narration, only definitively adopted by the papal see, when it had been forced on a reluctant pontiff by the clamour of a council, which appeared to embody the popular feeling of the West. And though, as in the instance, already cited, of image-worship, the popes often took a prominent part in the defence of these errors, when they had once arisen and diffused themselves; yet it was as the representatives of public feeling, as the supporters of notions which had become general, that they did so. It was in allying themselves, as their new position often forced them to do, with the popular party, that they allied themselves with the popular corruptions. And however, therefore, we may censure them for having thus suffered themselves to be guided by the dictates of low secular policy rather than of strict uncompromising principle, it would be unreasonable, on this account, to condemn either them or their authority, for the actual origination of the corruptions thus laid to their charge.

That there existed a sort of mysterious sympathy between the system of errors which, collectively taken, may be styled doctrinal popery, and the solitary elevation of the Roman patriarch's throne, may not be denied. But it were a more correct view of this connexion to regard the two as derived from one com-



mon source, than to consider the one as having been directly instrumental in the production of the other. As the temper of the times waxed gross, as the vision of spiritual religion faded before men's eyes, both Christianity and the Christian Church became to their regards, if the expression may be allowed, materialized; and the conversion of the unearthly system of the apostolic polity into a more worldly, a more tangible, scheme of monarchy, is to be traced to mental habits and modes of thought, very nearly allied to those which moulded a reverential and mysterious feeling toward the saints departed, into a systematic invocation of them; and which degraded the holy and ineffable mystery of the real presence in the Eucharist, into the more definite and intelligible miracle of Transubstantiation.

It was the cry of the favoured subjects of God's elder dispensation, "We will have a king over us, that we also may be like all the nations<sup>1</sup>." And the papacy, rising, as has now been described, to solitary dominion, may be regarded as a striking antitype and correspondence, under the new state of things, to the kingdom of Saul and his successors, under the old. Like that kingdom, the papal autocracy presented itself as an unauthorized innovation,—a wilful, human modification of a divine and heaven-appointed polity. Like that, it tended to divide, by permanent distinctions, those who had been ordained to form but one people, and, as brethren, to dwell together in unity. And like that, alas! it ultimately led the way to a Babylonish thralldom. But, unhallowed as had been its origin, the Israelitish monarchy became, we know,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. viii. 19, 20.

the scene of God's most striking providences, the stage allotted to His prophets, and the channel through which He deigned to bring about a partial fulfilment, even of those predictions of national blessing, which the sin of His people withheld them from realizing to the full. David reigned as the man after His own heart; the splendid majesty of his son was permitted to adumbrate that of the "greater than Solomon," who was to come. An angel descended from heaven, and the sun receded in his course, to preserve or to comfort Hezekiah; and Josiah was called by name, centuries before his birth, to the high service of extirpating the idolatries of Bethel.

In like manner the papacy, when it had monopolized to itself, by whatever means, the whole governing power and representative authority of the Western Church, was permitted, as we shall shortly see, to become, in the hands of Heaven, a favoured instrument of good. And whatever we may think of its present position or recent conduct, it were most unjust, most unreasonable, on this account, to slur over the glories attendant on its earlier day. It was, in effect, the realization of that spiritual autocracy of which, as has been observed, the pontificate of Nicholas I. was rather a foreshadowing than an illustration, which at last imposed an effectual check on the portentous abuses of the Church, already described; on that profligacy, simony, and worldliness of the clergy, and consequent depravity of the laity committed to their charge, which rendered the period antecedent to such a realization, most truly, the dark age of Christian history. To the papal power, more especially as wielded by him whose eventful life will form the principal subject of the following pages, is due, what may with justice be called the Reformation of the

eleventh century. But this is an anticipation ;—before approaching the history of that memorable period, it will be necessary to continue the melancholy annals of ages, during which the evils above-mentioned continued to flourish, both at Rome and elsewhere, in unchecked and baleful luxuriance.



## BOOK I.—CHAPTER II.

EXTINCTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN LINE—CORRUPTION OF THE TIMES FOLLOWING THAT EVENT—DISGRACEFUL HISTORY OF THE ROMAN SEE—OTHO THE GREAT—EVENTS WHICH LED TO HIS INTERFERENCE WITH THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY—HIS REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE—POSITION ASSUMED BY HIM WITH REFERENCE TO THE PAPACY—HIS DEATH—CONNEXIONS OF OTHO II. AND OTHO III. WITH ROME—EXTINCTION OF THE SAXON IMPERIAL LINE—CONTINUED DEPRAVITY OF THE TIMES—MORAL DEGRADATION OF THE PAPACY—CAUSES OF ITS CONTINUED INFLUENCE OVER THE GENERAL CHURCH—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THIS INFLUENCE—HENRY II. CHOSEN EMPEROR—HIS INTERCOURSE WITH ROME—HIS DEATH—ELECTION OF CONRAD THE SALIC, FIRST EMPEROR OF THE FRANCONIAN LINE—HIS CHARACTER AND POLICY INSTRUMENTAL IN PREPARING THE WAY FOR THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

THE imbecility of Charlemagne's descendants, and the discords which incessantly raged among them, brought the glories of their house to a speedy termination. Charles le Gros, the sixth and last emperor of their family, was, in 887, contemptuously expelled from the throne<sup>1</sup>. And the imperial title, after being for some little time longer a subject of dispute between contending princes of Italy and Germany, and becoming in succession the prize of such as could obtain a momentary advantage over their rivals, fell itself, on the death of Berengarius, in 924<sup>2</sup>, into disuse; the nations of the West resuming the character of independent and

<sup>1</sup> Hermann Contracti Chronicon, ad ann.—Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*.

<sup>2</sup> Muratori.

unconnected principalities or kingdoms. But the idea of Roman spiritual supremacy, consolidated as that supremacy had now become, and accordant as it was with the habits and demands of the age, did not fade from men's minds with the disappearance of the secular polity in connexion with which it had grown to maturity. Nor did even the profligacy or violence which, in the following period of confusion, disgraced the Roman bishops,—though fatal to their moral influence in Rome itself,—suffice to eradicate those impressions of the plenitude and extent of papal authority, which had now been made on distant nations. The era which followed the extinction of the Carlovingian line is confessedly the most gloomy and disgraceful in the Church's annals<sup>1</sup>; and the then recognised seat of supreme ecclesiastical authority fully participated in the general darkness and corruption. The imperial power having become extinct, Rome, which owed allegiance directly to that power, and formed no part of what was styled the kingdom of Italy, became an independent state; but her pontiffs soon found that

<sup>1</sup> *Novum inchoatur sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate, ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate, plumbeum, atque inopiâ scriptorum appellari consuevit, obscurum.*—Baronii Annales, ad an. 900.

*Iniquitates nostræ multiplicatæ sunt super caput, et delicta nostra creverunt usque ad cœlos. Fornicatio et adulterium, sacrilegium et homicidium inundârunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit . . . contemptis edictis episcopalibus, unusquisque, quod vult, agit: potentior viribus infirmiore opprimit: et sunt homines sicut pisces maris, qui ab invicem passim devorantur . . . Hinc est quod videmus per totum mundum rapinas pauperum, deprædationes rerum ecclesiasticarum . . . Omnis pæne ordo, omnis status ecclesiæ confusus ac temeratus est.*—*Adlocutio Herivei Archiepisc. ad Concil. Trosleianum A. D. 909. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. pp. 505, 506.*

they had only exchanged their subjection to a single and distant sovereign for a slavery to many nearer tyrants. The lawless and licentious nobles of the neighbourhood became the virtual masters of the papal city; which they impoverished by their rapacity, and desolated by their factions. The pontifical elections were brought completely under their control; on the occurrence of a vacancy, the dominant party of the day introduced a creature of its own to the papal chair, who was, generally, soon driven from it by the fall of his supporters and the exaltation of an opposite faction. Popes, during this disgraceful period, were repeatedly seen to condemn the acts, and to deny the title of their predecessors. One,—Stephen VI., consecrated in 896<sup>1</sup>,—actually dragged the body of an obnoxious predecessor,—Formosus, consecrated in 891<sup>2</sup>,—from the grave; and after subjecting it to a mock trial for usurpation of the papal see, pronounced it guilty, and directed, that, after the amputation of the head and of three fingers, it should be thrown into the Tiber<sup>3</sup>. Stephen was soon himself deposed, and strangled in prison; and by a subsequent pontiff,—Theodore II., in 898,—the body of Formosus, found by some fishers, was solemnly reinterred, his acts declared valid, and the expelled clergy, whom he had ordained, restored to their benefices<sup>4</sup>. And at length, as if to complete the disgrace of the once honoured apostolic see, the power of selecting the Patriarchs of the West fell into the hands of the intriguing and licentious Theodora, and of her equally unprincipled daughters,

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi Breviarium Gest. Pontificum.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.—F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>4</sup> F. Pagi Breviar.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 487.



Theodora and Marozia<sup>1</sup>. These unhappy women, the members of a patrician family at Rome, by their arts and beauty, obtained an unbounded influence over the aristocratic tyrants of the city. One of the Theodoras appointed a lover<sup>2</sup>, and Marozia nominated a son<sup>3</sup>, to the apostolic see. And when another son of the latter, Alberic, kindled to indignation by the insolence of her third husband, Hugo king of Italy<sup>4</sup>, deprived her of her power, it was only to assume to himself, together with the civil government of the city, the power which she had enjoyed of nominating pontiffs at her will. He maintained his authority, in this as well as other respects, till his death, which occurred in 954<sup>5</sup>; and then bequeathed it, undiminished, to his son Octavian, a youth who, though only seventeen years of age, had already been admitted to holy orders<sup>6</sup>. On the death, in 955<sup>7</sup>, of Agapetus II., the last ecclesiastic nominated, under the domination of Alberic, to the papal throne, the young ruler, or his partizans, thought it advisable, that, instead of selecting another dependent pontiff, he should conso-

<sup>1</sup> Cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac sordidissimæ meretrices, quarum arbitrio mutabantur sedes et dabantur episcopatus.—F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>2</sup> John X. 914. F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>3</sup> John XI. 931. Luitpr. lib. ii. c. xiii.—F. Pagi Breviar.—but see Muratori's remark on the subject in his *Annali d'Italia*, an. 931.

<sup>4</sup> Albericus . . . matris hortatu aquam ad abluendas Hugonis manus infudit, sed cum non tam admodum scitè præbuisset, Hugo correctionis gratiâ ei alapam impegit, quâ contumeliâ Albericus provocatus, Romanos ad defectionem impulit.—F. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>5</sup> Chronic. Farfens. ap. Murator. *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Flodoard. in *Chron.* ad an. 954.

<sup>7</sup> Mansi; according to others, in 956. Vid. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 451.

litate his influence and power, by being himself elevated to the apostolic chair; which he accordingly was, and assumed in his new character the designation of John XII.<sup>1</sup>, though he continued to style himself by the name of Octavian in matters of secular business<sup>2</sup>.

During the administration of the pontiff chosen under these evil auspices, originated that second and more lasting connexion of the papal power with transalpine sovereignty, which resulted from the revival of the imperial dignity in the person of Otho the great. And it will be necessary to bring the origin of that connexion before the reader at some little length; on account of the light which its history is calculated to throw on the position occupied by the papacy, in relation to the empire, during many subsequent ages.

Otho, a prince of the Saxon line, succeeded his father, Henry the Fowler, upon the German throne, in 936<sup>3</sup>. The kingdom of Italy, which, from the downfall of the Carlovingian power, had been the alternate prey of despotic tyranny and anarchical disorganization, was at that period groaning under the oppression of Hugo of Provence, already mentioned as the third husband of the infamous Marozia. The last-named prince directed his policy to the systematic abasement of all that was exalted or powerful in his kingdom. His half-brother, Lambert Marquis of Tuscany<sup>4</sup>, and his nephew, Anscar, Marquis of Spoleto<sup>5</sup>, became themselves the vic-

<sup>1</sup> Being, it seems, the first by whom a new name was adopted on elevation to the pontificate.—F. Pagi, *Breviar.* t. i. p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Muratori, *Annali d'Italia* ad an. 956.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. *Contract.*—Chron. Reginon.

<sup>4</sup> Luitprand, lib. iii. c. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 2 et 3. Lambert was the son of Bertha of Lor-

tims of his jealousy; the first being deprived of his possessions and eyesight, and the other put to death, by his machinations. Dividing his nobles from each other by his intrigues, Hugo crushed them, in succession, by his power; and even the favourites and dependants whom he had himself enriched, were shortly stripped again, by his suspicious rapacity, of all that they had amassed. Bishops, in whom he had not full confidence, he chased from their sees, and substituted for them natives of Burgundy or Provence, who, in Italy, would depend on himself alone for support<sup>1</sup>. The revenues of the richest abbeys and benefices he appropriated to his mistresses, or made the object of a scandalous traffic, from which accrued no inconsiderable portion of the revenues of his crown.

The existence of this state of things had suggested to Henry the Fowler the idea of settling, by an armed interference, the affairs of Italy; though he was not destined to put that idea in execution. But when Berengarius, Marquis of Ivrea, and grandson of the emperor of the same name<sup>2</sup>, presented himself before Henry's successor Otho, as a fugitive from the Italian monarch's cruelty, he was received with a degree of favour and countenance, which enabled him some time afterwards to put himself at the head of the malcontents of Italy, and to compel the tyrant of that country to abdicate the throne. It was then decided, by a diet convened at Milan, that the regal title should remain with Hugo's

raine, Hugo's mother, by her second husband Adalbert II. Marquis of Tuscany; of the same parents was born Ermengarde, who, as second wife to Adalbert Marquis of Ivrea, became mother of Anscar.

<sup>1</sup> Luitprand, lib. iv. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Being the son of Gisla, daughter to that emperor, the first wife of Adalbert, Marquis of Ivrea, above mentioned.



son, Lothaire; but that the general administration of the kingdom should be confided to Berengarius. But the noble thus placed in a most ambiguous position, was not long satisfied with the imperfect enjoyment of power. He viewed, too, with jealousy, the favour shown by the prelates and other dignitaries of the kingdom, to the new sovereign, and to his queen, the young and amiable Adelaide of Burgundy. And the death of the former, which occurred, under circumstances likely to excite suspicion, in 950, was by many attributed to his contrivance. Notwithstanding, however, the ill-will which the suspicion must have excited toward him, Berengarius had the address to procure his immediate election as Lothaire's successor; and he was crowned at Pavia, together with his son Adalbert, whom he associated in his dignity, within a month after the youthful monarch's decease. The royal widow Adelaide, who had not yet seen her twentieth year, was detained, by his orders, in close and rigorous confinement<sup>1</sup>. She contrived, however, to escape from his hands, and was kindly protected by Adelard, bishop of Reggio, and by the Marquis Azzo, who then held, as a fief under that see, the mountain-fortress of Canossa, in the Apennines. A strong feeling was of course excited by the misfortunes of this princess against her oppressors; and by her friends, who put themselves in communication with the German court, it was suggested, that Otho, then a widower, should receive her hand, and free the Italian kingdom from the tyranny of its new ruler, by claiming the crown for himself. Otho hesitated not to close with these tempting proposals. In the year 951, he crossed the Alps, at the head of an army so formidable,

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Ditmar. Episc. Merseb. in Chronic.

that the confounded Berengarius<sup>1</sup> durst not meet him in the field; and establishing himself, without opposition, in Pavia, there solemnized his nuptials with Adelaide, and declared himself king of Italy<sup>2</sup>. Nor, though he was shortly summoned back across the Alps by domestic troubles, did Berengarius even then feel himself strong enough to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by arms. He therefore followed Otho, as a suppliant, into Germany, and threw himself before the feet of that sovereign and of his queen, the injured Adelaide, imploring their forgiveness<sup>3</sup>. And Otho, influenced, we may suppose, alike by policy and generosity, consented that Berengarius and Adalbert should retain their regal title and power, on their agreeing to hold the Italian kingdom as a fief, under the paramount sovereignty of his own, and on their binding themselves, by the oaths and ceremonies usual on such occasions, to feudal subjection<sup>4</sup>.

When, therefore, eight years afterwards, Berengarius and his son, by a course of tyranny and oppression, had worn out the patience of their subjects<sup>5</sup>, and, by their injuries or their menaces, had excited the indignation of the Roman see, it was to the German sovereign, that the eyes, as well of the pontiff, as of the aggrieved Lombards, were naturally turned for redress and deliverance. It is not clear what the particular evils were

<sup>1</sup> His Berengarius compertis, obstupefactus,  
Non bellum movit regi, non obviu exit,  
Sed se servandum castello protinus apto  
Intulit, in tutis posito firmisque locellis.

Hrosvitha Carm. de vita Oddonis.

<sup>2</sup> Chronicon Regin.—Herman. Contract.—Ditmar. Episc. Merseb.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Regin.

<sup>5</sup> Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 6.

which John XII. at that moment, either suffered or dreaded from the Italian tyrants; evils, the immediate pressure of which, blinded his eyes to the consequences likely to result to his own irregular authority, from the subjection of Italy to a powerful and determined sovereign; but certain it is, that his legates, despatched in the course of the year 960 into Germany, presented themselves before Otho, with the most urgent entreaties, that for the love of God, and of His apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, he would be pleased to rescue the Roman Church from the ferocity of the two Italian sovereigns, and to restore her to her pristine liberty<sup>1</sup>. And these envoys met, in the German court, with several distinguished persons from various parts of Italy, who had come on a like errand with themselves<sup>2</sup>. Walpert, archbishop of Milan, had with difficulty escaped thither, to complain of his unjust expulsion from his metropolitan see, and of the appointment of an intruder in his room. And Gualdo, bishop of Como, had also his tale to relate, of injury and insult inflicted by the tyrants, and by the queen of Berengarius, the imperious Willa. Otho was not deaf to this general call; and his second expedition into Italy, undertaken under these auspices, was as successful as had been the former one. Berengarius, powerless as before to resist him, and now hopeless of compromise or pardon, fled at his approach. A Milanese diet declared Otho duly elected king of Italy; and in the metropolitan church of that city, the celebrated iron crown was placed upon his head, by the hands of the restored Archbishop Walpert<sup>3</sup>. But a solemnity still more august awaited the German sove-

<sup>1</sup> Sigebert. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Luitprand, lib. vi.—Landulph. senior, in Mediolan. Hist. lib. ii. c. 16.



reign at Rome ; for there, on the feast of the Purification, A. D. 962, he received, from the hands of Pope John, the imperial diadem of Charlemagne, and thus became the second renovator of the Western Empire<sup>1</sup>.

This turn of events brought the supreme monarchical and ecclesiastical powers once more into immediate contact with each other ; and to cursory observers it might appear that the new emperor stood, with relation to the pontiff, in a position precisely similar to that once occupied by the son of Pepin. The coronation of Otho was, like that of Charlemagne, the recognition and ratification of a spiritual monarchy, vested in the apostolic see. Like Charlemagne, too, Otho showed himself desirous to secure, by his exertions, and extend, by his liberality, the temporal power and possessions of the successors of St. Peter<sup>2</sup>. But the papacy, widely as had spread its renown, and extended as were now the limits of its admitted jurisdiction, had become, through the crimes and follies of its more recent occupants, debilitated at home. When closely confronted, it was found to have lost the moral strength which it had possessed in earlier days ; and, under this alteration in circumstances, motives similar to those which had rendered Charlemagne its deferential friend, induced, or rather compelled, Otho to take upon himself the character of its authoritative patron and controller.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Regin.—Herman. Contract.—Lamb. Scaf. nab.—Sigebl. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> The "Diploma Ottonis Imperatoris," edited by Baronius, and said to be preserved, written in letters of gold, in the castle of St. Angelo, (vid. Hard. Concil. t. vi. pt. i. p. 623,)—a document by which the emperor confirms to the Roman see, among a variety of other privileges, the full dominion of the papal city, and of the territories of the Church around it,—is in all probability a production of much later times.

Elected as had been John XII., at the age of 18, to the papal chair, and appointed, as he had been, to that chair, merely for the purpose of strengthening his secular influence, it need not surprise us to find that he disgraced his high dignity by a licentious and profligate life. On Otho's appearance in Rome, he seems to have seen the necessity of checking, at least, the public indulgence of his vices; but the new-made emperor had no sooner quitted the papal city, than he resumed the shamelessness of his career. The Lateran palace was disgraced by becoming a receptacle for courtezans; and decent females were terrified from pilgrimages to the threshold of the apostles, by the reports which were spread abroad of the lawless impurity and violence of their representative and successor<sup>1</sup>.

The fame of these transactions could not fail to reach the imperial ear. The emperor was reminded, too, from various quarters, how nearly it concerned him, now that he had become the head of the western world, to maintain the decency and respectability of the Latin Church, and to put an end to the scandals daily brought upon her by the disgraceful excesses of her spiritual head.

Hints were also thrown out, that John, jealous of the superior authority which he had himself put into Otho's hands, had entered into a correspondence with the de-throned Adalbert, inimical to the emperor's interest.

<sup>1</sup> Quod si cuncta taceant, Lateranense palatium, sanctorum quondam hospitium, nunc prostibulum meretricum, non silebit amicam conjugem Stephanæ patris concubinæ sororem. Testis omnium gentium, præter Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent visere, quum nonnullas ante dies hunc audierint conjuges, viduas, virgines oppressisse.—Contin. Luitprand. l. vi. c. 6.



But to these Otho paid no regard; and when the reports of trusty persons, sent by him to Rome for the purpose, convinced him that the accounts which he had received of John's general conduct were by no means exaggerated, "Puer est,—he is but a boy," said the considerate prince; "the example of good men, aided by fair reproof and kind persuasion, will yet extricate him from these evil ways; and we shall then say with the prophet, 'This change is from the right hand of the Most High'.<sup>1</sup>" He despatched, accordingly, some nobles of his court, with a message of mild admonition to the youthful pontiff; and proceeded himself to blockade the fortress of St. Leo<sup>2</sup>, in Umbria, where Berengarius had entrenched himself with some of his remaining followers<sup>3</sup>. John, in answer to his message, despatched his chief secretary Leo, and another noble Roman, to the emperor, with promises of amendment; but he showed, even then, his spleen at Otho's admonition, by objecting to him, as a violation of the rights of the apostolic see, the siege of St. Leo, a fortress within its territory. "I have pledged myself," said Otho, in reply to this futile charge, "to restore the patrimony of St. Peter entire to his successors; and how am I to fulfil the pledge if I do not subject it to my power, by the complete conquest of the enemy, by whom a portion of it is still occupied?"

But the insincerity of John's conduct was shortly demonstrated by irrefragable proof. Otho heard that Adalbert, having landed by papal invitation at Civita Vecchia, had entered Rome in a triumphal manner, and been received by the pontiff with the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Contin. Luitprand. l. vi. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Regin. the place is called by Luitprand. Mons Feretratus.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Regin.



honours<sup>1</sup>. Summary measures now became necessary, and Otho moved at once upon Rome. John, after some vain preparations for resistance, fled at his approach: the emperor was received by the Romans with shouts and gratulations as their deliverer from an odious tyranny; and availed himself of this feeling in his favour to demand from the clergy and people an oath that they would thenceforward elect no pontiff without the sanction of himself or of the king Otho, his son. Then, at the entreaty of both prelates and people, he summoned a council, which met, in November 963, in the Basilica of St. Peter; and by which, after it had been twice adjourned, to give John an opportunity to attend, that pontiff was on the 4th of December formally and unanimously deposed; Leo, his chief secretary and late ambassador, being, under the auspices of Otho, elected in his room<sup>2</sup>.

Leo's character was unimpeachable; but, when chosen to this high ecclesiastical dignity, he was a layman,—a circumstance which naturally scandalized many, while it was taken up by many more as an ostensible cause for the discontent with which, proud of the liberties of their city, they beheld a pope elected by the virtual nomination of a German sovereign. The partizans of John availed themselves of this prevalent feeling, to excite a tumult in Rome, which broke out on the 3rd of January, 964<sup>3</sup>, and which was only appeased by Otho with much difficulty and bloodshed. And the emperor, subsequently to this event, had

<sup>1</sup> Contin. Luitprand.—Chron. Regin.

<sup>2</sup> Contin. Luitprand. Gotf. Viterb. Pantheon ap. Struv. t. ii.—Herman. Contract.—Sigebl. Gemblac.—Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 627.—Chron. Regin.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Regin. Contin. Luitprand.

scarcely left the papal city, to complete the overthrow of Berengarius and Adalbert, when the deposed pontiff once more made his appearance in Rome: his partizans prevailed over their antagonists; and Leo, stripped of every thing which he possessed, esteemed himself fortunate in escaping with life to the camp of his patron<sup>1</sup>. John now, in his turn, called a council, which met on the 26th of February, 964<sup>2</sup>, and which did not hesitate to declare Leo's election illegal,—to degrade from their stations those ecclesiastics who had taken part in it,—and to annul the acts of the imperial nominee's ephemeral reign.

Otho was naturally incensed at this gross violation, on the part of the Romans, of the compact into which they had so recently entered with him. And his wrath was converted into fury when he heard of the mutilations and other cruelties with which John revenged himself on the principal persons who had favoured his rival<sup>3</sup>. But before he could bring his army before the walls of Rome, Providence delivered the Church from the tyrant who disgraced her; and John was carried off, on the 14th of May, either by a rapid illness, or by the consequences of a blow or wound received in the prosecution of his intrigues<sup>4</sup>. The public feeling, however, of animosity toward Otho, by which John in his latter days had been supported, did not expire with him. The Romans, on his death, instead of recognising Leo, and inviting his return, elected,

<sup>1</sup> Contin. Luitprand. Chron. Regin. Gotf. Viterb.

<sup>2</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> Contin. Luitprand. Chron. Regin.

<sup>4</sup> *Dum se cujusdam viri uxore oblectaret, in temporibus adeo a diabolo est percussus, ut intra dierum octo spatium eodem sit vulnere mortuus.*—Contin. Luitprand. l. vi. c. 11.



as John's successor, a cardinal deacon of the Roman Church, who ascended the apostolic chair under the name of Benedict V.<sup>1</sup> But the party who thus acted were powerless to resist the imperial arms: Otho entered Rome, at the head of his forces, on the 23rd of June; and there summoned a council, at which Leo presided on the pontifical throne; while Benedict, appearing before him as a criminal, was compelled to strip himself of his robe of state, and to resign his crosier into the hands of his rival; by whom it was instantly broken into pieces<sup>2</sup>.

There were many who felt that this ceremony did not remove the original defect of Leo's title; and indeed, papal writers of a comparatively recent date maintain that this council, like the former one, holden by Otho in Rome, was a pretended one,—in ecclesiastical language, a conciliabule; and that on this occasion, it was the true pope who appeared as the criminal, and the pretender who sat as his judge. The malcontents, however, were now too well convinced of Otho's superiority of force to attempt any further outbreak. The emperor, crossing the Alps early in the year 965, took Benedict with him, and confided the exiled pontiff to the charge of the archbishop of Hamburg, by whom he was treated with all honour and courtesy. Nor did Leo long survive his patron's departure. He breathed his last, on the 17th of March, 965; on which the Romans, humbled by experience, despatched an embassy to their German sovereign, and entreated him to point out, according to his good pleasure, an occupant for the chair of St. Peter. It is

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Chron. Regin.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Regin.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 637.—Herman. Contract.—Sigeb. Gemblac.



said, indeed, that the message was accompanied by an intimation that no new nominee could be so acceptable to his Roman subjects as would be the exiled Benedict; and that Otho was about to accede to the request. But this intention, if indeed it existed, was frustrated by Benedict's death<sup>1</sup>; and, on the return of the Roman envoys to the papal city, accompanied by the bishops of Spire and Cremona on the part of Otho, the election took place in favour of John, bishop of Narni<sup>2</sup>, who thus became John XIII.; a pope, during whose pontificate, the relation of dependence, which the papacy had now assumed toward the imperial power, was yet further illustrated and confirmed. Viewing himself as the imperial nominee and representative, the new pontiff was induced to treat the principal personages at Rome with a haughtiness, which excited general disgust. The citizens rose against him in arms, and compelled him first to barricade himself in the castle of St. Angelo, and then to fly the city: nor was he restored to the apostolic chair, till Otho came once more at the head of an army to Rome, and punished with a severity amounting to cruelty the principal agents in the insurrection<sup>3</sup>. John XIII. then held the see undisturbed till his death, which occurred in Sept. 972. The emperor, on that event, sanctioned the election of a Roman by birth, who was promoted to the papal chair under the name of Benedict VI., and whose exaltation only preceded by a few months the death of his imperial patron, as Otho breathed his last on the 7th of May, 973<sup>4</sup>.

The above brief account of this monarch's intercourse

<sup>1</sup> Adam. Bremens. Hist. c. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Regin.—Herman. Contract.—Sigebo. Gemblac.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Regin.—Herman. Contract.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.—Lamb. Scafnab.

with the papacy, will suffice to illustrate the difference, already alluded to, between his position and that of Charlemagne, with relation to the great ecclesiastical power of the West; to show how that great power, extended and consolidated as was now its empire abroad, was becoming dependent for its security, if not for its existence, on the secular authority at home. And the relation, thus established, between the imperial crown and the tiara, was maintained without any material modification, during the reigns of Otho's son and grandson, Otho II. and Otho III. The first Otho had not long breathed his last, when the ever-turbulent Romans arose against the last pontiff of that emperor's nomination, imprisoned and murdered him; electing in his room a profligate cardinal deacon, who assumed the name of Boniface VII.<sup>1</sup> But this wretched man, in the short space of one month, disgusted those who had procured his elevation; and, after plundering the treasury and basilica of St. Peter of all that he could conveniently carry away with him, he fled to Constantinople<sup>2</sup>. And Otho II., by sanctioning the election of Benedict VII.<sup>3</sup>, a member of the great family of the counts of Tusculum<sup>4</sup>, arrayed a large party among the Roman aristocracy on his side; and so far succeeded in maintaining the imperial authority, that, on Benedict's death, in 983, he procured the election, as pontiff, of his imperial Arch-chancellor, John XIV.<sup>5</sup> But Otho II. himself

<sup>1</sup> Herm. Contr.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> According to some writers, the intruder Boniface was in the first instance succeeded by a pope named Donus; but the chronology of the period is obscure.—Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. and vid. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 463.

<sup>4</sup> Or "Tuscoli." It is difficult, sometimes, in treating of these middle ages, to decide whether a proper name is to be given, with the greatest correctness, in its Latin, or Italian, form.

<sup>5</sup> F. Pagi Breviar.—Sigeib. Gemblac.—Herman. Contract.



died in the December of the same year<sup>1</sup>; and, in the March following, his unhappy nominee was dragged, by the Roman populace, from the papal throne to a dungeon; while the infamous Boniface, returning from Constantinople, became once more the master of Rome, and maintained himself there for seven months; at the end of which period he died<sup>2</sup>. The deposed John had been previously murdered in his prison; but another pontiff of the same name was nominated in his room in 985<sup>3</sup>. He, like his successor, Gregory V., was driven, during his pontificate, into exile<sup>4</sup> by the ante-imperial party, and only restored by the arms or influence of the German court. In the time, indeed, of the latter of these pontiffs, the animosity of the Romans to the emperors and their nominees had reached such a pitch of exacerbation, that it was proposed by a powerful party among them, headed by an intriguing noble named Crescentius, to recognise once more the paramount lordship of the Grecian empire over the papal city, and abjure for ever the supremacy of the German Cæsars. In furtherance of these plans, Gregory V. was declared deposed, and a Greek prelate (John XVI.) elected by the factious to the apostolic see<sup>5</sup>. But Otho III., then advancing to man's estate, espoused with zeal the cause of the exiled pontiff, who was his near relation. Accom-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Scaf. — Ditmari Chronic.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> The account of John XVth's flight into Tuscany from the turbulence of Crescentius, is given by Baronius; but F. Pagi (Breviar. t. i. p. 469) professes himself unable to find it in any writer earlier than Werner Rolwink, who wrote in the 15th century. Vid. Pistor. Rer. Germ. SS. t. ii. p. 536. Hermannus Contractus says of him, that "Clericos suos parvipendens, odio ipsius est habitus."

<sup>5</sup> Annales Hildeshemens. Ditmari Chron.



panied by Gregory, he made a forcible entry into Rome in 998. The Grecian intruder, seized in his flight, was treated by the relentless Gregory with cruelties and indignities too horrible to mention<sup>1</sup>; and Crescentius, having defended himself for some time in the castle of St. Angelo, was at length compelled to surrender, and was beheaded by the emperor's command<sup>2</sup>.

On Gregory's death, in the following year (999), Otho procured the nomination of his tutor, Sylvester II., a person who, under the name of Gerbert, had much distinguished himself in the paths of literature; and whose researches in physical science had procured him, with the vulgar, the reputation of a magician<sup>3</sup>. This pontiff, consequently, it was who filled the papal chair when the tenth century closed upon the world; an event almost immediately succeeded by the extinction of the male line of the great Otho, in the death of his grandson Otho III., who breathed his last in January, 1002<sup>4</sup>.

The general darkness and corruption of the period which had thus reached its termination have been already adverted to. The abuses of the century preceding continued unreformed; the moral degradation of the clergy had produced a general contempt of church ordinances alike in themselves and in their flocks. The clerical body of Italy, says an indignant bishop<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Linguam cum oculis et naribus amisit. Ditmar.—Ab imperatore cæcatus et truncatus deponetur. Annales Hildesh.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ditmar.—Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan.—Annales Hildesh.*

<sup>3</sup> *Willielm. Malmesburiens. de gestis regum Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10.—Ditmar.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sigeb. Gemblac.—Herman. Contract.—Ditmar.*

<sup>5</sup> *Volumen perpendiculorum Ratherii Veronensis, vel visus cujusdam appensi cum aliis multis in ligno latronis. D'Acher. Spicileg. t. i. p. 345. 355;—Itinerarium Ratherii Romam euntis, Ibid. t. i. p. 379—384.*

of this gloomy time, had sunk so far into habits of self-indulgence and dissipation, as to be no otherwise distinguishable than by the shaving of the head and crown, by some slight peculiarities of vestment, and by the negligent performance of certain rites in the Church, from the profane laity around them<sup>1</sup>. And these latter were but too naturally induced to make light of those menaces of the Divine wrath, which they perceived to be, even among those to whom they were entrusted, the subjects of habitual contempt<sup>2</sup>. Nor could the populace in general attach in their thoughts much importance to the censures of the Church, when wielded by those who, if Church canons had indeed any force, were themselves evidently excommunicate<sup>3</sup>.

And the pontiffs, struggling under the shadow of the imperial power for security at home, were not able, even had they been willing, to direct their energies to the accomplishment of any great or systematic reformation abroad. It does, indeed, at first sight, appear a singular circumstance, that the theory of their supremacy should have maintained itself in undiminished acceptation during this long period of their moral and

<sup>1</sup> Unde ad tantam consuetudo, et majorum eos exempla jam olim impulerunt impudentiam, ut solummodo barbriasio, et verticis cum aliquantulâ vestium dissimilitudine, et quod in Ecclesiâ cum negligentia agunt non parva, unde tamen affectant magis placere mundo quam Deo, a ritu distare eos videas laico.—D'Acher. t. i. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> At cum nos videant ridendo ea quoque legere sæpe, et tam obstinatè adversum talia, tamquam audacter resistere, et rebellione contrâ Deum publicâ obdurari, si illi talia non curant mirumne alicui potest videri?—ib. p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Unde et excommunicationes nostras cum absolutionibus parvi ducunt, quia quantum intelligere possunt, et nos a sanctis Canonibus excommunicatos cognoscunt, et ligatum neminem ligare vel absolvere posse arbitrio proprio comprehendunt.—ib.



political weakness. The same causes, however, by which that theory had been mainly brought out, continued to operate in upholding it. A variety of motives, good or bad, still concurred in leading many ranks and classes to look with satisfaction to the existence of a central and generally controlling ecclesiastical monarchy. And the metropolitans themselves, who might be supposed to feel themselves the most immediately humbled by the introduction of such a monarchy into the system, were still often induced to ally themselves with it as the readiest mode of obtaining a preponderance over rivals in hierarchical dignity. We find Dietrich, Archbishop of Treves, soliciting and obtaining from John XIII., in 969, for himself and his successors, that precedence among the archbishops of Germany, which was now recognised as connected with the privilege of representing, as a legate, the pontifical power<sup>1</sup>; though the claim to such precedence, when advanced on similar grounds in the preceding century by the son of Charlemagne, Drogo, Archbishop of Metz, had been received with such dissatisfaction, that that prelate, for the sake of peace, was induced to relinquish it<sup>2</sup>.

The legatine system had gradually grown up, from the necessity experienced by the pontiffs, during the reign of the divided Carlovingian sovereigns, of almost constantly maintaining, at the court of each of these princes, with whom they were in some respects so closely connected, a confidential representative. Such a representative, when his office became systematically acknowledged, participated, of course, to some ex-

<sup>1</sup> Harzhem. Concil. German. t. ii. p. 648.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Epistle of Sergius II. appointing Drogo his legate. Hard. t. iv. p. 1463, et seqq. and the proceedings of the Council of Verneuil. Hard. t. iv. p. 1472.



tent, in the dignity ascribed by the public voice to his principal. And when the theory of the false Isidore had fully developed itself, the powers which the legate, in the papal name, asserted his right to wield, were such as to prevent any thing like the free exertion of metropolitan authority in any other hands than his own. It was his business, according to the papal view, to summon, at pleasure, to councils the general prelacy of the regions which were entrusted to his charge; to preside over them, notwithstanding the presence of the national primates,—to sanction new laws,—to demand the censure of the synod upon such as had offended, and in the event of the synod's disagreeing with him, to appeal to Rome,—to remove even metropolitans, if contumaciously disobedient, from their office;—and to forward the decrees of all councils to Rome, in order that, if approved of, they might be sanctioned; and, if otherwise, annulled, by the supreme authority of the successor of St. Peter<sup>1</sup>.

These extraordinary prerogatives were, it is true, but slowly, and to the last but imperfectly, acknowledged by the nations. But by the end of the tenth century their general tenor was so far understood and admitted, that not only did many primates, like Dietrich, eagerly barter their own independent character for one which implied a continual dependence upon Rome; but even a secular king, Stephen of Hungary, conceived that he strengthened his authority over his newly-converted subjects, by obtaining from Sylvester II. the permission to combine his regal title with that of legate of the apostolic see<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cantelius de Metrop. Urbium hist. pt. i. diss. iv. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Bonfinii Rerum Hungaric. decad. ii. lib. i. p. 119;—Cantel. in loc. citat.

With regard, indeed, to the papal connexion with temporal sovereigns, it may be remarked, that the restoration of the empire by Otho not only displayed the pontiffs once more to the world, in the ceremony of coronation, as the bestowers of the imperial dignity, but tended to countenance the feeling, then growing, in the public mind, which ultimately led men to regard the papal see as the legitimate disposer of all the thrones and dignities of earth. The feudal ideas which were now spreading themselves over Europe accustomed mankind to a gradation of authorities arising in progressive stages above each other; each in its place commanding that below it and obeying that above it. The small landholder held his property under a lord who was in some sense his immediate sovereign; that lord again was in his turn the vassal to a greater baron; the baron owed a species of allegiance to the duke or margrave of the province; and it was this last dignitary alone who owed the undivided duties of a subject to the crown. To minds familiar with this state of things, the exaltation of one throne in Western Europe to pre-eminent dignity, would seem,—even independently of recollections of the past,—like the exaltation of its occupant to a kind of paramount lordship over other sovereigns; a vague and shadowy suzerainty, but one which harmonized too well with the ecclesiastical supremacy already ascribed by the Western Church to one paramount head, not to find a place, in the current creed of the day, by its side. And, when this had become the case, the pope, in placing the diadem upon the imperial brow, appeared to the general apprehension as the dispenser, not of one monarchy alone, but of the united sovereignties,—the collective dignities,—of Western Europe, represented by their head.



Under these circumstances, we find that the powerful Hugh Capet, founder of the dynasty which has ruled France from his days to our own, having procured, through his prelates, the deposition of a Rhemish archbishop, was so anxious to conciliate John XV. and to procure his sanction to the measure, that, in an epistle to the pontiff, in which he assured him that no step had been taken in violation of his apostolic prerogative, the king offered to proceed to Grenoble, and, if John would agree to meet him there, to receive him with all honour, and to submit the case in question to his authoritative decision <sup>1</sup>.

During the same pontificate it is, that the first recorded instance occurs, of the practice, afterwards so frequent, of canonization by the authority of a pope and council of the Roman province. John XV., in 993, added to the saintly calendar the name of Ulrich bishop of Augsburg, who had died in 973 <sup>2</sup>, thus acting, as he expressed it, "by the authority of the blessed Peter, prince of Apostles," and exerting a new species of prerogative, as the one visible head of the community of the faithful, the "bishop of the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church <sup>3</sup>."

And though, notwithstanding the humble tone assumed by Hugh Capet, John was not, it should seem, able to settle to his entire satisfaction the business of the Rhemish archbishop, on which that monarch had addressed him; yet the general deference of France to the papal authority was strikingly displayed in the following pontificate of Gregory V. Robert, the son and

<sup>1</sup> Nihil nos contra apostolatum vestrum egisse scimus.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 730.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 727.



successor of Hugh on the Gallic throne, had married Bertha, daughter of Conrad king of Burgundy; his union with whom was uncanonical, both on the ground of consanguinity, and because Robert had contracted what the Church considered a spiritual relationship with Bertha, by having undertaken the office of godfather to one of her children by her former husband. Incensed by this gross violation of ecclesiastical discipline, Gregory, when restored to Rome by the arms of Otho III. in 998, ventured, in council, to declare this royal marriage void; to command the parties who had contracted it to separate from each other; and to declare the archbishop of Tours, who had celebrated the illegal ceremony, as well as all the bishops who had countenanced it by their presence, excluded from the communion of the Church, until they should have made fitting satisfaction to the apostolic see<sup>1</sup>. The haughty prince at first defied the pontiff and disobeyed his sentence; but when Gregory declared him excommunicate, and his kingdom under an interdict<sup>2</sup>,—the first instance of such a measure in France,—the scene was soon changed. The astonished Robert beheld himself deserted by all, and his court converted into a solitude. Two faithful domestics alone remained near him, to minister to his wants; and even these, avoiding his touch as infected, threw every plate and vessel out of which he had eaten or drunk, into the fire<sup>3</sup>. Under these circumstances the king felt that he had no course left but submission; he dismissed Bertha from his arms, and obtained, by his humiliation, the pardon of the apostolic see.

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 756.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Franc. Fragm. ex veteri exemplari Floriacensi, apud Duchesne, t. iv. p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Damiani lib. ii. ep. xv. ad Desiderium.

In the attainment of a result so important to the power of that see, Gregory V. was, no doubt, materially aided by the indignant feeling, which the king's conduct, opposed as it was to recognised and respected laws, had excited in the minds of his subjects. He was, moreover, encouraged to strike the blow by the countenance and support of his patron Otho III., who was present at his Roman council, and approved of its decrees. And when we take this last circumstance into consideration, the proceeding, viewed as a whole, may be thought to indicate alike the maturity of the system, which concentrated the general Church's power of discipline in one pontiff's hands, and the danger, to which that system had now given birth, that such a pontiff himself might be made, by circumstances, the creature of a secular sovereign, and thus in effect transfer the whole spiritual government of the Church, into hands which bore no apostolical commission to administer it.

Upon the death, however, of Otho III., and the extinction, in his person, of the imperial Saxon line, that danger might seem, for a while, to disappear. The nobles of Germany, on that event, elected to their vacant throne a Bavarian prince, Henry II.<sup>1</sup> But, though they intended that this election should virtually confer the Italian and imperial crowns, as well as that of their own country, the Italians, discontented with their vassalage to a foreign people, conceived that the juncture presented a favourable opportunity for the recovery of their national independence. They selected, consequently, as their king, one Ardoin, marquis of Ivrea; and, though their nominee was not able to stand in the field against Henry, when the latter advanced to Pavia,

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract

and there received the iron crown<sup>1</sup>—15th May, 1004,—from the hands of the archbishop of Milan; yet, as the German monarch was soon recalled across the Alps, and detained some years on their northern side, by difficulties arising from the novelty of his regal power, Ardoïn was enabled to maintain, during that time, a precarious dominion in northern Italy. Rome was therefore severed, for a season, from all direct communication with the German sovereigns. But the papacy, long used to lean for support on their imperial sceptre, had now, if we may so speak, no substantive power of its own. The aristocratic and democratic factions, whom the authority of the Othos had often failed to keep down, now that this authority was removed, were controlled by their mutual rivalry alone. Sylvester II. died in 1003, the year following that of the last Otho's decease; and the three following popes, John XVI.,—June 1003,—John XVII.,—Dec. 1003,—and Sergius IV.,—1009,—were the creatures and nominees of such nobles or popular leaders, as could obtain in turn a momentary preponderance in the distracted city. Benedict VIII., the successor of Sergius, was elected in 1012, through the influence of the family of the counts of Tusculum, with which he was connected,—a family which, as it was pre-eminent in power among the Roman aristocracy, had already exercised on many occasions a preponderating influence over the papal elections, and now attained the power, which it for some time maintained, of virtual nomination. The Romans, it is true, indignant at its domination, and disliking its nominee, rose against Benedict in the year following that of his election, and compelled him to fly from the city;

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.



while a more popular ecclesiastic, Gregory by name, was installed in his room. But Henry II., having surmounted his difficulties in Germany, was now prepared to move once more into Italy. Applied to by the fugitive Benedict for assistance, he gladly embraced the opportunity of strengthening his interest at Rome, by the alliance of a party, so powerful there as was the house of Tusculum. Triumphant over his rival Ardoin, he appeared with his army before Rome, where he found all opposition fall before him, and received the imperial crown, from the hands of the pontiff whom he had restored, on the 14th of February 1014<sup>1</sup>. And, as Ardoin, shortly after this event, was induced by ill health to retire into a monastery, Henry's title continued undisputed in Italy during the remainder of his life, notwithstanding the general repugnance of the Italians to a German master. As, however, he was compelled to pass the greater part of his reign to the northward of the Alps, his authority, in his southern kingdom, was but imperfectly obeyed; and, in Rome itself, he was only strong in the power of his aristocratic allies, the chiefs of the family of Tusculum. With pontifical elections he had no opportunity, subsequently to his coronation, of interfering, as he and Benedict VIII. died within a few days of each other, in July 1024<sup>2</sup>. On the death of the latter, the partizans of the Tusculan family, secured, by the vacancy of the imperial throne, from monarchical interference, and superior to opposition from any other quarter, procured the election of the deceased pontiff's brother, who already bore the titles of duke and senator of Rome, and who assumed, as

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract. Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

pope, the name of John XVIII.<sup>1</sup> The election is said to have been compassed by bribery and other unjustifiable means; a statement, which the character of the family in question, and of the object of their choice, renders too probable. John, as may be inferred from the nature of his former titles, was a layman to the day of his papal consecration<sup>2</sup>; and so little did he, after that event, regard either the obligations of his new character, or the dignity of the see over which he had been chosen to preside, that he expressed his readiness, in consideration of a large sum of money to be remitted to him by the Greek Emperor Basil, to recognise the right of the Grecian Patriarch to the title of œcumenic, or universal, bishop; a title against which, from the time of its assumption by their Eastern brethren, the popes had not ceased to protest; and which they could not, indeed, have admitted, without acquiescing in the degradation of their own see to a secondary and dependent rank in the hierarchy of the Church. But the fame of this disgraceful transaction had no sooner been bruited abroad, than the universal burst of indignation, which it excited among the churchmen of the West, prevented the profligate pontiff from putting his design in execution<sup>3</sup>.

The Germans, upon the death of Henry II., who left no issue, elected, as their sovereign, Conrad, surnamed

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract. This pontiff is also styled John XVIII. by Harduin, but there is some uncertainty respecting his proper numeral designation. F. Pagi reckons him John XIX. and Baronius John XX.

<sup>2</sup> *Largitione pecuniæ, repenti ex laicali ordine neophytus constitutus præsul. . . . ex laico, (nefas dictu,) est transformatus in Papam.* Vid. Baron. Annal. ad ann. et Glaber Rodulph.

<sup>3</sup> Hugo Flaviniac.

the Salic, duke of Franconia, a prince of illustrious descent, but small possessions<sup>1</sup>. He ascended the throne as Conrad II.<sup>2</sup>, and became the progenitor of that line of sovereigns which filled the imperial throne during one of the most momentous periods in the annals of the Church and of the world. For, though a powerful party in Italy, impatient of German rule, had upon Henry II.'s decease, offered their crown in the first place to Robert, king of France, and then to William, duke of Aquitain, yet these princes both shrunk from the precarious dignity; and the malcontents were forced to acquiesce in the councils of those of their countrymen who had deputed to the German court, Heribert, the powerful archbishop of Milan, with the proffer of their crown<sup>3</sup>. Conrad, as a newly elected sovereign, was surrounded with difficulties in his own country. He contrived, however, to lead an army across the Alps in 1026; he received, in the spring of that year, the Italian crown, at Milan; and at Easter, in the year following, that of the empire was placed, by John XVIII., upon his head, in the presence of the great Canute, king of England and Denmark<sup>4</sup>, and of Rudolf, king of Burgundy, with the former of which sovereigns Conrad concluded a treaty for the marriage of his son

<sup>1</sup> Wippo de vita Chunradi Salici. Herman. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> Of Germany. As sovereign of Italy, he was Conrad I. It may be as well to mention here, that throughout this work the German sovereigns are spoken of by the numerical designations which they bore in Germany.

<sup>3</sup> Wippo de vita Chunradi.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Cnutonis Epistola ad Anglos, ap. Willielm. Malmesburiens. de Gestis Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 11.—Herman. Contract.—Wippo.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 845.—Otton. Frising. Episc. Chronic. l. iv. c. 29.



Henry, afterwards Henry III., with the Danish prince's daughter Cunelind.

Conrad the Salic was a prince possessed of great abilities, and of peculiar tact in the science of government. The smallness of his hereditary possessions made it difficult for him to support the dignity of his crown; and the spirit of disorder, which prevailed during his reign to a frightful extent, taxed, to the utmost, his prudence and his energies. But, by a consistency of plan, and by a happy mixture of firmness and conciliation in conducting the struggles in which he was engaged, Conrad surmounted the obstacles before him; he secured, in spite of powerful opponents, the establishment of his family on the throne; and, if he was not able to appease in his own time, those troubles which had arisen from the weakness or mismanagement of former governments, he laid the foundation for a more orderly organization of society, by his labours in systematizing and perfecting that feudal code, which had now become, as it were, the common law of his empire, but which received through him the precision and clearness of statutory legislation<sup>1</sup>.

The causes in which the system of fiefs originated, it is not necessary here to discuss. Whatever these may have been, it is evident that such a system could not long exist without undergoing a considerable modification of its original spirit and character. The bond of kindred, or the moral ties of gratitude or affection, which in its origin had bound individual grantors and grantees of land to each other, had of course a tendency to grow

<sup>1</sup> "Erat itaque Conradus iste armis strenuus, consilio providus, sapientiâ florens, peritus et jure civili et in religione Christianâ devotus."—Gotf. Viterb. ap. Pistor. *Rerum Germ. SS.* t. ii. p. 331.

feebler and feebler with each succeeding generation. Superiors, therefore, as time went on, were sometimes induced to treat their inferiors in feudal relationship with a severity and oppression unknown in the infancy of that connexion. And while the system was traditional and unsettled, the lord might, if he so pleased, tyrannize over his vassal, by demanding of him unreasonable and extraordinary services, and, if these were refused, deprive him of his fief at will. But to the growth of these evils, Conrad the Salic strenuously opposed himself. Through his regulations, first in Italy, and then elsewhere, fiefs of the ordinary kind were recognised as descending from father to son; the services to be rendered by their holders were defined, and regulated according to the precedents of the past; and the lord was prohibited from either demanding more, or expelling his vassal from his land, without a kind of legal process and conviction of guilt. These arrangements were productive both of security to the subject, and of authority to the crown. The empire, under them, assumed a more regular constitutional organization; the antagonist powers, if we may so call them, of society, were brought into a species of contact with each other, conducive to their general equilibrium; and Conrad thus, though he died, in 1039<sup>1</sup>, in the midst of wars and discord, bequeathed to his son, Henry III., the foundations of an authority, more solid than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors upon the German throne.

The Church, like the estates of secular society, acquired security for her possessions under Conrad's sway: he saw, in the baronial importance of her prelates and

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Lamb. Scafnab.—Wippo.—Sigeb. Gemblac.



abbots, a counterpoise to the formidable power of his unruly secular aristocracy; and he therefore willingly enriched them, by distributing among them the lands which during his reign, through the attainder of their holders, became forfeited to his crown. But it was, unfortunately, too exclusively as a political body, that he contemplated the holy institution; and amid the straits to which he was reduced by the smallness of his revenues, he was induced so far to forget the sacredness of the pastoral mission, as habitually to receive pecuniary presents of considerable value from those whom he selected for vacant sees or abbeys, thus sanctioning and extending, by his example, the baleful practice of that unhallowed traffic by which the Church had been so long polluted, and which the enactments of councils, and the indignant denunciations of individual prelates, had in vain sought to put down, from the days of Charlemagne to his own.

The policy, therefore, of this able monarch, tended not only to strengthen and consolidate the feudal system in general, and the power of the feudal monarch in particular, but also to incorporate, or,—if the expression may be allowed,—to melt, the Church into that system, so as to render her an essential and inseparable portion of it,—to subject her to all its laws,—and to associate her in all its destinies;—a process rendered the more easy of accomplishment, by that forgetfulness of her real nature and spiritual prerogatives which was induced in men's minds by the constant spectacle of an unholy traffic in her sacred offices. And in succeeding to his father's power, Henry III., as though by necessity, succeeded also to the task of working out these tendencies in practice, and of completing and filling up the shadowy outlines which Conrad had imperfectly traced.



It is, consequently, by the accession of the former of these princes to power, that a definite form may be considered to have been given to that great contest which will form the principal subject of the following pages. The whole history, indeed, of the imperial Franconian line is that of one long struggle between the Western Church, as represented by the papacy, and the principle of a feudal classification of society, which, as maintained by Conrad and his descendants, threatened to reduce her to the state of a merely human and subordinate institution. On the importance and results of that contest it were premature here to dilate. Its general nature has been thus briefly alluded to, in order that, as the narration proceeds, it may be seen to what the course of events from this time was tending, and what was the bearing of each occurrence, on the development of that approaching crisis, which was destined definitively to fix the position of the Church in feudal Europe.

## BOOK I.—CHAPTER III.

CONSECRATION OF BENEDICT IX.—HIS PROFLIGACY—HIS SALE OF THE PAPACY TO GREGORY VI.—ELECTION, BY AN OPPOSITE PARTY, OF A PRELATE WHO ASSUMES THE NAME OF SYLVESTER III.—BENEDICT RENEWS HIS CLAIMS—GENERAL SCANDAL EXCITED BY THESE PROCEEDINGS—HENRY III. MARCHES INTO ITALY, DEPOSES OR EXPELS THE RIVAL PRETENDERS, AND NOMINATES CLEMENT II. TO THE PAPAL CHAIR—CORONATION OF HENRY, AS EMPEROR, BY THE PONTIFF THUS CHOSEN—COUNCIL OF CLEMENT II. AGAINST SIMONY—HENRY RETURNS TO GERMANY.

WITH the internal affairs of Rome, or of her Church, Conrad the Salic, engaged as he was in other parts of his empire, had little opportunity directly to interfere. And his son Henry was, for several years after his accession, too much occupied in Germany, to cross the Alps in quest of the imperial diadem. The imperious and licentious house of Tusculum, therefore, continued to control both the city and the papacy with an arbitrary sway. And upon the death of John XVIII., in 1033, so little regard did his brother, the head of that potent family, deem it necessary to pay to appearances, that he directed the election and consecration of his son Theophylact<sup>1</sup>; a boy not more, according to some authorities, than ten or twelve years old<sup>2</sup>. The unhappy youth was consecrated under the name of Benedict IX.

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> Puer ferme decennis.—Glaber ap. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 500. Ordinatus quidam puer annorum circiter duodecim contra jus, fasque, quem scilicet sola pecunia auri et argenti plus commendavit,

and soon exemplified the unfitness of the selection by the giddy and precipitous manner in which, as soon as his years admitted it, he plunged into every species of debauchery and crime. The disgust excited by his proceedings grew at length too general to be controlled by the interest or authority of his family; and the Romans, in 1038, drove the young pope from his see. The emperor Conrad, however, was then in Italy, and still anxious for the maintenance of friendly relations between the Tusculan house and himself. He therefore marched upon Rome, a city which he had not visited since the period of his coronation; and Benedict was restored. But the unfortunate man failed to profit by the warning thus given him, continuing to disgrace his pontificate with every species of crime<sup>1</sup>, and familiarizing himself, it is said, even with adultery and murder<sup>2</sup>. And at length, as if determined to outrage public feeling to the utmost, he had the madness to think of marrying his first-cousin, the daughter of a nobleman named Gerard de Saxo. The father, when the project was communicated to him, at once declared it impracticable, except upon the condition that Benedict would, in the first instance, resign the popedom; in which event Gerard hoped that the power of papal nomination might be wrested from the Tusculan family, and fall into the hands of himself and the party among

*quam ætas aut sanctitas. Ibid.* But respecting this extreme youth, or rather childhood, of Benedict IX. when appointed, there seems to exist some doubt. There is, unhappily, none with respect to the infamy of his subsequent conduct.

<sup>1</sup> *Cujus vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre.*—Victor III. dialog.

<sup>2</sup> *Post multa turpia adulteria et homicidia manibus suis perpetrata, postremo &c.*—Bonizo, ap. *Œfel.* t. ii. p. 801.



the nobles to which he belonged. But in this he was disappointed. Benedict, intent on accomplishing his marriage, was prepared to relinquish his dignity; but instead of abandoning it to the faction of his intended father-in-law, he entered into communication with the archpriest of Rome by name John Gratianus, who expressed himself ready to give him a large sum if he would declare himself unworthy of the pontificate, and abdicate it. Gratianus was a man who, in those bad times, was considered more than ordinarily religious<sup>1</sup>: he had lived free from the gross vices by which the clergy were too generally disgraced; but he had availed himself of the high repute which this circumstance had procured him, to amass sufficient money for the scheme which he now attempted,—a scheme which, if we give him credit for purity of intention, betokens unquestionably the grossest ignorance of the limits of sacerdotal duty. This was, to exalt himself to the papacy, and, in so doing, to assert, in opposition to the aristocracy, the long dormant right of the Roman clergy and people to a free election of their spiritual pastor. He persuaded Benedict, therefore, not indeed to resign professedly in his favour, but to resign at a time in which, having employed the remainder of his treasure in purchasing the support of influential Romans, he was tolerably sure of being elected to succeed him. This took place accordingly; and Benedict, in 1044, having received the stipulated price<sup>2</sup>, consecrated with his own hands his successor, by the name of Gregory VI.

<sup>1</sup> Qui tunc magni meriti putabatur.—Bonizo, l. c. Qui tunc in urbe religiosior cæteris clericis videbatur.—Victor III. dial. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Quia, voluptati deditus, ut Epicurus magis quam ut pontifex vivere malebat.—Victor III. dial.

But Gerard and his party, indignant at this frustration of their hopes, refused to acknowledge the transaction; and on the assumption that the papal chair was vacant, nominated to it John, bishop of Sabina, who gave them a considerable sum for his elevation, and who assumed the name of Sylvester III.<sup>1</sup> The power, however, of the house of Tusculum was still formidable. Benedict, finding his intended spouse withheld from him, and not feeling himself bound in honour by his bargain with Gratianus, after an absence of three months, reappeared in Rome and asserted his former pretensions. But though he succeeded in occupying the Lateran palace, he was not able to drive either of his competitors entirely out of the city. The world, therefore, beheld for some time the shameful spectacle of three self-styled Popes, opposed to each other, living at the same time in different palaces, and officiating at different altars of the papal city: Benedict performing the sacred functions of his office in the Lateran; Gregory in St. Peter's; and Sylvester in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. The degradation of the once honoured chair of the Apostle had now reached its climax. The scandal of these proceedings excited a general cry of indignation; and as the corruption and disorganization of all classes of Roman society seemed to preclude the possibility of any reform originating at home, the eyes of many were wistfully turned towards Germany, as the only quarter from which a remedy for these dreadful evils could be looked for.<sup>2</sup>

Averse as the Romans usually, and naturally, were to Teutonic control, the name of the young and energetic Henry III., who now filled his father Conrad's throne,

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

became familiar in their mouths as that of a desired and expected deliverer; and in a rhythmical saying which passed from mouth to mouth, he was implored to come, and, as the vicegerent of the Almighty, to annul the unnatural union which connected three husbands with a single bride<sup>1</sup>.

But the monarch thus appealed to was occupied by wars with revolted nobles or neighbouring nations, and unable, during the year 1045, to attempt an expedition into Italy. The factions, therefore, continued to rage in the distracted city of St. Peter; and though that of Gregory, after some little time, seemed to preponderate over its antagonists, yet its chief found himself compelled to propitiate his rival Benedict by permitting him to retain that portion of the papal revenues which was derived from England<sup>2</sup>. And through this circumstance, as well as the further diminution of the income of the see which resulted from the opposition of Sylvester, and the general results of the struggle, Gregory found his pecuniary resources miserably inadequate to the preservation either of dignity in his government or of order in the city<sup>3</sup>. No pilgrim could now approach the apostolic

<sup>1</sup> Una Sunamitis nupsit tribus maritis,  
Rex Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,  
Solve connubium triforme dubium.

Vid. Annalista Saxo ad ann.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Frisingens. vi. c. 32. This historian, not a contemporary one, is evidently in error in describing the Archpriest John and Gregory VI. as different persons.—Vid. F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> Præter pauca oppida vicina, et oblationes fidelium, pene nihil haberet, quo se sustentaret.—Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. ii. c. 13.



threshold without fear of falling into the hands of the robbers and murderers who infested the city and its neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>; and Gregory, to subdue and chastise them, found it necessary, not only to maintain a standing body of troops, but repeatedly to put himself at their head, and to proceed in person to the capture or the slaughter of these outrageous offenders. He first expelled them from the sacred limits of St. Peter's; then carried his arms further, and cleared the neighbouring towns and roads from their marauding bands<sup>2</sup>. And when the incongruity of these warlike proceedings with the sacred duties of the pontifical office raised an outcry against him, his partizans met it by the singular expedient of supplying him with a coadjutor, in the person of Laurence, Archbishop of Amalfi; a prelate who for his assertion and enforcement of ecclesiastical prerogative and discipline, had been banished from his archbishopric<sup>3</sup>, by Guaimar, prince of the city. Laurence, it was agreed, should officiate for the pontiff in the offices of the Church, and should carry on the general business of the papal government, while his principal might still devote himself to his active, but unpriestly, labours in the armed enforcement of public tranquillity. Such an arrangement, as Gregory was an unlettered man, probably suited him better than would have done a partition of duties of an opposite kind. While, by the nomination of the archbishop, those of Gregory's partizans who were anxious for a reform of

<sup>1</sup> In medio foro sicarii vagabantur . . . Super ipsa corpora apostolorum et martyrum, supra sacra altaria, gladii nudabantur, et oblationes accedentium vix dum appositæ de manibus abripiiebantur.—Will. Malmesb. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Ughelli Italia Sacra, t. vii. p. 195. edit. Colet.

the Church, secured the services of a strict and able prelate toward the accomplishment of their designs <sup>1</sup>.

For unlettered as he was, and unworthy as had been the mode of his exaltation, Gregory VI. seems to have been supported against his rivals by whatever of high feeling or catholic principle yet existed in the papal city. A school was now growing up, at Rome and elsewhere, of men who, disgusted with the outrageous corruptions of the Church, pined for her reformation; and who, at the same time, felt that such reformation, to be essential and permanent, must be connected with her liberation from the thralldom in which she had long been held to regal or aristocratical power. The supreme functions of her internal government having become,—as though by the general consent of the collective episcopacy of the West,—entrusted to the pope, they saw that the vigour of her administration must be crippled throughout, if the pontiff continued either the dependent nominee of a German monarch, or the creature of a Tusculan count. They beheld the spirit of feudalism gradually drawing the hierarchies of the different nations of Europe more and more into its system, and confounding their spiritual character with the secularities around them. And they could not but regard, under existing circumstances, the interference of Henry, as an event likely to consolidate that system, by subjecting the papacy to a thralldom more complete than it had at any preceding period experienced.

When, therefore, Gregory VI., under the most un-

<sup>1</sup> Laurentius, Amalfitanæ sedis archiepiscopus, qui potens in litteris ac biglossus, Græcè noverat et Latinè, et, quod longè præstantius est, laudabilis vitæ claritate pollebat.—Petr. Damian. in vita S. Odilonis.

propitious circumstances, had succeeded in restoring the appearance, if not the substance, of a canonical election by the Roman clergy and people, he had drawn these reformers, by a strong attraction, to his side ; as in the success of his cause had become involved a practical illustration of their leading principle. His competitors they were, on all accounts, anxious to oppose ; and when, as we have mentioned, they had put the virtual administration of the Church into the hands of Laurence, whom they trusted and revered, they willingly forgot the errors, the ignorance, and the simplicity, of her nominal governor, and endeavoured to persuade themselves that his pontificate would prove a distinguished era of ecclesiastical reform<sup>1</sup>.

They were, however, soon awakened from the dream in which they thus hastily indulged. Henry III., having at length satisfactorily arranged his northern affairs, prepared, in the autumn of 1046, for an expedition into Italy.

This prince, who was then in the very prime of life, having been born in 1016, had inherited to the energy and abilities, as well as the sceptre, of his father Conrad : and while he was actuated by the same general principles of rectitude by which that father had been characterized, he was able, in one respect, to resist a temptation, to which Conrad, from the difficulties of his position, had been induced to yield. In no single instance is the fame of Henry III. obscured by the disgrace of simony. To that unholy practice, the young monarch, from the beginning of his reign, displayed a determined opposition ; while the energy of his character, and the strength of his devotional feelings,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Damiani lib. i. ep. i.



naturally induced him to rejoice in being called to the part of a reformer of the Church. Like his contemporaries, he was impressed with the idea that the episcopal power of that Church was by divine appointment mainly concentrated in the Roman see; and he therefore felt that he could undertake no holier task, than the liberation of that see, from the factions which tyrannized over, and the corruptions which polluted it.

But unfortunately, alike for the permanence of his improvements, and for the future destinies of his own imperial house, Henry undertook this task,—a feudal monarch,—with a mind thoroughly imbued with the feudalizing system of his father and of the day. His own sovereign power was that which events around him were conducing to render the sole independent, substantive, authority in the political constitution of society. All grades and orders of civil dignity were, at the moment, systematically ranging themselves in relations of definite subordination around the steps of the imperial throne, and deriving from those relations a principle of strength and permanency unknown to them before. And the Church afforded, in her outward circumstances, no indication, that the formation of such relations would not, in her case, be equally beneficial. On the contrary, the principle of feudalism, the strong and prevailing principle of the day, seemed, at first sight, to hold out to her the only means of immediately and efficiently coping with the dangers and difficulties which beset her. And, this being the case, the sovereign was of all men the least likely to open his eyes to the evils probable in future to result from an undue exertion, in this direction, of the regal prerogative.

Henry set out, therefore, with the purpose,—it would

be scarcely fair to say, the intention,—of making the Church's spiritual governors independent of every other external authority, by binding them in close dependence on the authority of his central throne. Conscious of his good intentions, and confident in his power, he deemed that he should thus secure moral weight to their authority, and energy to their efforts, for carrying into effect the reformation which he desired; and, as he was prepared scrupulously to avoid all violation of the outward forms and decencies of ecclesiastical independence,—as he showed, by his consistent practice, a deep reverence for the majesty of the Church and of her ministers',—he probably little understood the real nature of the precedent which he was setting;—little dreamed, that, by his measures for the remedy of temporary evils, he was founding a system of a permanent nature,—a system, by which the Church which he revered would ere long have been depressed from her original state of substantive existence, into that of a mere creature and organ of the secular ruler; and by which, therefore, had it been destined to receive consolidation, she would have been subjected to a more galling, as well as a more lasting, degradation, than the vices or follies of her pastors, or their controllers, had ever as yet brought upon her.

Those who, as we shall find in the sequel, protested against that system, and resisted its accomplishment, did so as asserters of pontifical, rather than of episcopal, prerogative. But, however unauthorized the steps by which the Roman Patriarch had become the sole representative of apostolic power in the West, he was, *de facto*, such a representative at the epoch in question;

<sup>1</sup> Henricus III. nunquam insignia regalia sibi præsumpsit imponere, nisi clam confessionis ac pœnitentiæ verberum insuper satisfactione, licentiam a quolibet sacerdotum suppliciter mereretur.—Annonis vita, c. vi. in vita SS. a Surio, t. vi.

and might consequently, as against an external and intruding power, fight with honour its battles, and assert with truth its rights. The power of the papacy, with all its defects, was, as should be recollected, itself episcopal. The internal government of the Church was not, by the Roman Patriarch's elevation, taken out of that sacred body in which the Redeemer had placed it, however irregularly within that body it had come to be distributed; and therefore the churchmen of the day, in contending against its menaced transference from the papal chair to the imperial throne, may unquestionably be considered as witnessing,—in a manner,—to the truth, and asserting the legitimate privileges of the Catholic Church. But their real position will be best explained by a continuance of the narration.

Henry III. was received in northern Italy by the powerful and magnificent Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany<sup>1</sup>, with a splendour which dazzled and surprised him. In Pavia, he held, on the 25th of October, a council<sup>2</sup>, which was attended by nine-and-thirty of the most distinguished bishops of Germany, Italy, Burgundy, and France; with whom he conferred on the

<sup>1</sup> Boniface was son to Tedaldo, Count of Modena, Reggio, Mantua, and other places, and had been enfeoffed with the duchy and marquisate of Tuscany by Conrad the Salic. When Henry III., on his Italian expedition, arrived at Mantua, Albert, the Viscount, or deputy, of Boniface in that city, presented him with an hundred horses, and two hundred birds of chace,—a present, which naturally impressed the monarch with a high idea of the magnificence of a noble, whose dependents were thus wealthy. Henry subsequently invited Albert to dine at the royal table; but the Viscount excused himself, saying, that even his own master had never honoured him with such an invitation; nor was it till he had received permission from Boniface to do so, that he obeyed the royal summons.—Vid. Domnizo.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.



state of the pontificate, with a view to the deposition of all its existing claimants. But the prelates declared that a bishop, and much more a pope, could not be condemned unheard; and Henry therefore invited Gregory VI. to join him in northern Italy. This simple and ignorant man<sup>1</sup>, trusting in what he considered the purity of his intentions, and in the feeling which existed in the papal city in his favour, unhesitatingly set out for the imperial court; and, presenting himself before Henry at Piacenza, was received by the king with all honour and distinction<sup>2</sup>. Thence he proceeded, with the monarch and his train, to Sutri, a town about thirty miles to the north of Rome; where Henry, again halting, summoned a council around him<sup>3</sup>, at which Gregory, as pope, took the presiding seat. His late competitor Benedict having retired and abandoned his claim, no step, with regard to him, was thought necessary; but Sylvester was condemned to be deprived of his episcopal and sacerdotal rank, and to be confined for the remainder of his life within the walls of a monastery<sup>4</sup>. And, this having been done, Gregory hoped that he should himself be recognised as the unquestioned occupant of the papal chair.

But the designs of the monarch were far different; he intended the removal of all from power in Rome who had connected themselves with the disgraceful history of the last two years. A difficulty, however, stood in his way: the principles of the false Isidore were now universally admitted; and according to these, the pope, being himself the supreme judge of bishops and all other ecclesiastical digni-

<sup>1</sup> *Erat enim idiota et miræ simplicitatis.*—Vid. Bonizo, p. 801.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract. Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>4</sup> Bonizo.

taries, could not be judged by them; and Henry was therefore obliged to use some management in compassing his object. Under his auspices, before the council of Sutri dissolved itself, the following scene took place:—His bishops, the cases of Gregory's rivals having been disposed of, requested the pontiff to state, for their information, the circumstances of his own election to the papal office; and when they had thus drawn from him an admission of the unholy traffic by which that transaction had been accomplished, they brought before him the impropriety of his conduct in a manner so glaring, that the confounded pontiff at length exclaimed, "I call God to witness that, in doing what I did, I hoped to obtain the forgiveness of my sins and the grace of God. But now that I see the snare into which the enemy has entrapped me, tell me what I must do?" The bishops having thus obtained their point, replied, "Judge thyself—condemn thyself with thy own mouth,—better will it be for thee to live, like the holy Peter, poor in this world and to be blest in another, than like the magician Simon, whose example misled thee, to shine in riches here, and to receive hereafter the sentence of condemnation<sup>1</sup>." And the penitent Gregory, in obedience to the suggestion, spoke as follows:—"I, Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, pronounce that, on account of the shameful trafficking, the heretical simony, which took place at my election, I am deprived of the Roman see. Do you agree," he concluded, "to this?" "We acquiesce," was the reply, "in your decision<sup>2</sup>;" and the ex-pope at once divested himself of the insignia of pontifical authority<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.<sup>3</sup> Victor iii. Dial. lib. iii.

His path being thus cleared before him, Henry proceeded to Rome. The resignation of Gregory, which his partizans with some reason considered as a forced one, excited in their minds a strong feeling of discontent. They had recognised him as a pope, in form at least, legitimately elected; to him, as such, they had pledged themselves by oaths of obedience; and in the principle with which they identified his cause, they saw, as they imagined, the only instrument which might avail to save the Church from the impending danger of an unqualified thralldom.

Those, however, to whom thoughts like these suggested themselves, were but few; and the cause with which they connected themselves was disgraced by too many foul stains, to permit them to hope for any general sympathy. Nor, however universal their feelings might have been, did there exist, in their long corrupted and degraded city, sufficient strength for any demonstration in opposition to the German sovereign's power. Henry, therefore, entered Rome, unopposed, on the 23rd of December 1046. On the day following, he assembled around him, in the Church of St. Peter, in addition to the prelates who had formed his council at Sutri, the clergy and the other most influential personages of Rome; and bade them proceed, in his presence, to the election of a pontiff. This task, his audience, as he probably intended and expected, declined, and begged him to accept, with the dignity of Patrician of Rome<sup>1</sup>, the office of selecting their future

<sup>1</sup> The title of Patrician was originally given to the emperor's deputy and representative who resided in the papal city. But during the unquiet times of which we have been treating, the dignity became in great measure an independent one, and was seized at different periods by powerful nobles of Rome for the sake of its privileges,



pastor. He, upon this, assumed the green mantle, the golden circlet, and the ring, which designated the dignity in question; and then taking the hand of Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, who had accompanied him from Germany, he led him up to the papal chair, and placed him there to receive the general homage of the assembly<sup>1</sup>.

It was alleged, as a reason for this elevation of a foreigner to the Roman see, that the papal city contained at the time no persons worthy to fill that exalted station<sup>2</sup>. But, however this might have been, Henry was of course glad to seize any pretext for confirming his control over the Romans, by the nomination, to the pontificate, of a friend and countryman of his own.

The pontiff, thus selected, was enthroned on the following day, the Feast of the Nativity, under the name of Clement II.; and immediately afterwards exercised, for the first time, the power with which he had been invested, by placing the imperial diadem upon the head of his patron; crowning at the same time, as empress, Henry's second consort, Agnes, the daughter of William, Count of Poitiers<sup>3</sup>.

Early in the following January<sup>4</sup>, Clement held, in

one of which was the right of presiding over pontifical elections. And the expedient of investing the emperor himself with this, apparently secondary, dignity seems to have been adopted on various occasions, as a mode of protecting the city from the oppressions of such petty tyrants as might otherwise usurp it.

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Benzonis Panegyric. in Henr. III. lib. vii. c. ii. p. 1062, in Menckenii Script. Rerum Germ.

<sup>2</sup> Victor iii. dialog.—Leo Ostiens. in Chronic. Casinens.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract.—Annalista Saxo.—Glaber. Rodulph. l. v. c. i.—Chronograph. Saxo.

<sup>4</sup> Circa nonas Januariar. Vid. Clementis II. liter. Synodic. ap. Hard. t. vi pt. i. p. 923.

Henry's presence, a council, in which the emperor declared his determination to extirpate the detestable sin of simony by every means in his power. The acts of this assembly, bearing on the general question of reformation of manners, no longer exist in an official shape, but we learn the tenor of one of its decrees from contemporary authority ; namely, that every person who had been admitted to orders by a simoniacal prelate, whom he knew to be such at the time of his ordination, should be prevented from exercising the duties of his ecclesiastical station, until he should have atoned for his offence by a penance of forty days<sup>1</sup>. And with the view of preventing, for the future, the exercise of this unhallowed traffic in the highest quarter, and of rendering impracticable those nefarious bargains and sales of the papacy which his age had too often witnessed, and of which the notorious venality of the Romans rendered the recurrence too probable, Henry exacted, and received from them, the solemn pledge, that the elections should be placed for the future under his entire control, and that no one should presume to nominate a pastor to the apostolic see, without the previous sanction of the imperial<sup>2</sup>, or, as it should perhaps be said, of the patrician, authority<sup>3</sup>. And having thus shown himself the enemy of ecclesiastical abuses, and settled, as he hoped, the government of the Church

<sup>1</sup> Damian. Opusc. vi. c. 35, and Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 925. Bonizo, p. 802.

<sup>2</sup> Ut ad ejus nutum sancta Romana Ecclesia nunc ordinetur, ac præter ejus auctoritatem apostolicæ sedi nemo prorsus eligat sacerdotem.—Damian. Opusc. vi. c. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Henricus imperator, factus est patricius Romanorum, a quibus accepit in electione super ordinando pontifice principatum.—Damian. in Concil. Osbor. ap. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1123.



on a safe and permanent footing, he quitted the papal city, and having in the first place attended to some matters which required his attention in southern Italy, returned across the Alps to his native country; carrying with him into banishment the deposed Gregory VI., together, it would seem, with some of his more active supporters<sup>1</sup>.

This last measure may be considered indicative of a consciousness, on Henry's part, that a party, possessed of some weight in Rome, had been offended by his recent demeanour, and was yet disposed to assert the deprived pontiff's cause. But what the strength of that party really was, the monarch, in all probability, was far from perceiving. With the supporters of Gregory VI., as we have seen, were blended those who, while yearning for the Church's general reformation, felt that such a reformation was only to be effected, in connection with her permanent liberation from the secular thralldom, which had so long oppressed, and so often degraded her.

This party, if so we may style those who were yet scarcely beginning to feel their union in the maintenance of the same great principles, seems now to have had its representatives spread over Western Europe; embracing in its fellowship several of the most learned, the most devoted, the most pure, among the Churchmen of the day. But its apparent force, as a party, even in its centre, the papal city, was, as yet, but small. The

<sup>1</sup> Some writers of a comparatively recent date, *e. g.* Baronius and the Pagis,—state that Clement II. also accompanied Henry III. to Germany, and cite a passage of Leo Ostiensis, which is probably a corrupt reading, as it is not found in Muratori's edition of Leo. The statement—an extremely improbable one in itself,—rests on no other contemporary authority; but is, indeed, at variance with the assertions of some of the most accurate chroniclers of the time.



great majority of well-disposed men, naturally delighted at their liberation from such scenes as those which they had recently witnessed, and from the tyranny of such factions as those of Benedict and Sylvester, were disposed to hail with acclamations every step of the reforming monarch's career; nor saw in that career the assertion of any principle fraught with danger to the future welfare of either Church or state. And Henry himself, it is probable, did no more than concur in opinion with these, in regarding the men, whom he might perceive to be thus discontented, as theoretic speculators, better acquainted with books than with men, and vainly aiming, in human things, at a state of ideal perfection. The monarch could not understand the ties of sympathy which united these learned, pure, and thoughtful men, with those whom similar studies, similar contemplations, and similar purity of life, were leading in other countries to the adoption of similar sentiments. And still less could he appreciate the power which their principles, when appealed to in hours of trial, might exert over the hearts and affections of mankind. He returned, therefore, to his German territories, with the gratifying consciousness of having performed a great public duty; and without, of course, in the least imagining, that in the measure which he had, to all appearance, so triumphantly and satisfactorily accomplished, he had laid the foundations of a struggle, which was to be the unceasing occupation of his descendants, and to stamp with a fearful and mysterious character the continuous destinies of his imperial line.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER I.

A.D. CIRC. 1020—A.D. 1052.

ORIGIN AND EARLY YEARS OF HILDEBRAND—HIS RESIDENCE AT CLUNI—APPEARANCE AT THE COURT OF HENRY III. AND RETURN TO ROME—HIS ATTACHMENT TO GREGORY VI., AND JOURNEY WITH THAT PONTIFF, WHEN DEPOSED, INTO GERMANY—HENRY'S COUNCIL IN THAT COUNTRY—DEATH OF CLEMENT II.—INTRUSION OF BENEDICT—APPOINTMENT AND DEATH OF DAMASUS II.—ELECTION OF LEO IX.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH HILDEBRAND, JOURNEY TO ROME, AND RE-ELECTION THERE—SYSTEMATIC COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION—CONTEST BETWEEN HENRY III. AND GODFREY OF LORRAIN—SUBMISSION OF THE LATTER—COUNCIL OF RHEIMS—OF SIPONTO—OF MANTUA—PERSONAL HABITS OF LEO.

It is at the epoch of the council of Sutri, that we find the name of Hildebrand,—the well-known appellation of Gregory VII. antecedently to his pontifical election—first mentioned in connexion with the public history of the Church and of the empire. Of his earlier years, so little is known with any degree of certainty, that it seemed expedient to bring that little before the reader, in the shape of a digression appendant to the main thread of our history, rather than as a formal commencement of the history itself. From its briefness, such a digression will not materially interfere with the continuity of the narration: and it is, in truth, so exclusively as a Churchman that Hildebrand has become known to posterity; so completely identified is his recorded career with the annals of the Roman Church during the more active

period of his life-time ; that the summary, which has now been given, of the prior fortunes of that Church, appeared fitter to serve as a general introduction to the detail of his achievements, than would have been that notice of his birth, boyhood, and youth, with which the work of a biographer would more regularly have commenced.

The date of his birth is unrecorded ; but, from the indications afforded by different passages of his history, it would seem probable that that event took place between the years 1010 and 1020. Nor is it quite clear, either where he first saw the light, or from what parents he derived his origin. But the most probable account of these points seems to be that, which designates, as his birth-place, the town of Soana, on the southern borders of Tuscany ; and which ascribes to his father the name of Bonizo<sup>1</sup>, and the humble occupation of a carpenter<sup>2</sup>. And, even if this statement should be, in its detail, inaccurate, we seem to have no good grounds for doubting that the main impression which it conveys is correct ; and that the parentage of Hildebrand was mean and undistinguished ; though some of his historians, ashamed of this meanness of extraction,

<sup>1</sup> So Pandulphus Pisanus. Paul of Bernried has it Bonico, and the Cardinal de Aragoniâ, Bonato, or Bonito. The same Cardinal describes him as “patriâ Suanensis ;” Pandulphus Pisanus and Paulus Langius say, “natione Tuscus ;” but Hugo Flaviniacensis declares that he was born of Roman parents at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Addunt vero ista de fabri filio, quòd cùm puer luderet ad pedes patris ligna dolantis ; ex rejectaneis segmentis, cùm nesciret literas, casu elementa illa formarit, ex quibus simul conjunctis, illud Davidicum exprimeretur oraculum, “Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare ;” quo significaretur, manum pueri ductante numine, ejus fore amplissimam in mundo auctoritatem.—Baron. *Annal.* ad ann. 1073. Vid. Mabillon. *Præfat.* in P. Bernried. ap. Murator. *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. iii. pt. i.



have endeavoured to connect him with the noble family of the Aldobrandini. He was soon, however, removed from the paternal roof, to a fitter scene of preparation for the toils and duties which awaited him. An uncle filled, during the period of his childhood, the situation of abbot of the monastery of St. Mary, on the Aventine hill at Rome; a relative, who may probably be identified with Laurence, the archbishop of Amalfi, already mentioned, unquestionably a patron and preceptor of Hildebrand<sup>1</sup>. And, under the auspices of this person, he received an education in the bosom of that Church which he was destined to defend so conspicuously; rapidly acquiring a knowledge of what were then styled the liberal sciences<sup>2</sup>, and exhibiting, from his earliest years, the rudiments of that devotional temperament, which in after-life so strikingly characterized him. He was, says one of his annalists, a monk from his boyhood;<sup>3</sup> his life, from its very commencement, was one of abstinence, mortification, and self-command.

Arrived at man's estate, he undertook a journey

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Ughelli Italia Sacra, t. vii. p. 195. edit. Colet.—Laurence was consecrated Archbishop of Amalfi, A. D. 1030, ob. A. D. 1048. Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, or, as they were metrically enumerated, —

Lingua, tropus, ratio, numerus, tonus, angulus, astra.

The three first of these were styled the trivium, the four last the quadrivium.

<sup>3</sup> Hildebrandum . . . a puero monachum fuisse, disertis verbis tradit Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv. Hist. Ecclesiast. Vid. Mabillon Præfat. in P. Bernried. For an illustration of his systematic self-command in little things, see Damiani. Ipse mihi nuper confessus es, quoniam ideo te funditus a porrorum, sive ceparum, perceptione compescis, quia videlicet his acuminibus uberius delectaris. In his itaque despiciabilibus rebus et gravior abstinencia, et minor est gloria. —Damian. Opusc. 32. c. 1.

across the Alps. Disgusted with the general laxity of manners which, during the dark period of which we have been treating, prevailed at Rome, he perhaps wished to perfect his habits of discipline, by association with purer and stricter fraternities than those with which he was familiar; for we find that he fixed his residence for some time in the celebrated and powerful monastery of Cluni, in Burgundy, a spot in which the monastic system is described, by writers of the day, as existing in a state of the fullest perfection<sup>1</sup>. Here, with all the ardour of a youthful and energetic spirit, he embraced the ascetic habits of the place, and, at the same time, endeavoured to complete the culture of his mind, by a diligent application to all those branches of study for which that celebrated monastery afforded opportunity; establishing for himself, by these means, a reputation which drew on him the eyes of the whole community, and caused the Abbot Odilo<sup>2</sup> to apply to him the words of the angelic prophecy concerning the Baptist, “He shall be great in the sight of the Lord.”

<sup>1</sup> Vidi siquidem paradisum quatuor Evangelistarum fluentis irriguum, inmo totidem spiritualium rivis exuberare virtutum: vidi hortum deliciarum diversas rosarum ac liliorum gratias germinantem, et mellifluas aromatum ac pigmentorum fragrantias suaviter redolentem, ut de illo vere valeat Deus omnipotens dicere, Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni, cui benedixit Dominus. Et quid aliud Cluniacense monasterium nisi agrum Domini plenum dixerim, ubi velut acervus est cœlestium segetum chorus tot in charitate degentium monachorum? Petr. Damian. Epp. lib. vi. ep. iv.—Dum tam districtum, tamque frequentem sanctæ vestræ conversationis ordinem recolo, non adinventionis humanæ studium, sed Sancti Spiritus magisterium esse perpendo. Vid. Ep. v. ejusd. libri (Ad Monachos Cluniacenses).

<sup>2</sup> Himself an eminent saint. Vid. Vitam S. Odilonis Abbatis Cluniæ. Petri Damiani Opp. t. ii. p. 179, edit. Paris, 1663. Odilo was born, according to this authority, in 961, and died in 1048.

After some time, Hildebrand set out on his return to Rome; and having, either at Cluni, or previously to the commencement of his travels, assumed in form the monastic character<sup>1</sup> and habit, he is said to have appeared, on his way into Italy, at the court of Henry III., in the character of a preacher; moving the monarch, after he had attended to his eloquence, to exclaim, that he had never heard a man preach with such boldness the word of God<sup>2</sup>. But the zeal and the strictness of principle, which had been matured at Cluni, excited sentiments less favourable toward Hildebrand, among the lax and self-indulgent churchmen of Rome, when he once more took up his residence there. He found, says Paul of Bernried, that a prophet has no honour in his own country; and was led, according to the same historian, to determine on quitting once more the unworthy city, and seeking, in other climes, more congenial associates. But he had no sooner begun to put this intention in practice, than doubts appear to have arisen in his mind, of the propriety of the measure. He might well feel, that, in leaving Rome, he was deserting the spot in which heaven had imposed on him the duty of bearing testimony against the wickedness of the times. And when he had arrived at Acquapendente,—thoughts like these embodying themselves in the visions of his sleeping hours,—he imagined that St. Peter, on three successive nights, approached his

<sup>1</sup> These are not to be confounded with holy orders. "Monks, in their first original, were generally laymen." Bingham, i. bk. vii. c. 2. Nor, however common the practice of uniting the clerical and monachal characters subsequently became, was it incumbent on monks to be ordained till the time of Clement V. an. 1311. Ib.

<sup>2</sup> Paul. Bernried. c. x., but the fact must be regarded as doubtful.



bed, and commanded his return to the appointed sphere of his duty; a command to which,—when the triple occurrence of the dream had impressed him with the belief that it was something more than an ordinary creation of the imagination,—he lost no time in exhibiting all dutiful obedience<sup>1</sup>.

We subsequently hear of him as the supporter and friend of the unfortunate Gregory VI., whose deposition has just been narrated. The appointment, already mentioned, of his relative, or preceptor, Laurence, to act as Gregory's coadjutor, was, in all probability, the immediate cause of this connexion. But if the mind of Hildebrand had already grasped, in any degree, those principles, to the defence of which his subsequent life was perseveringly devoted, the form of Gregory's election must have strongly biassed him, as it did other Churchmen, in favour of that well-meaning but misguided pontiff's cause. After the council of Sutri, Hildebrand, like his master, accompanied Henry on his return into Germany, it would seem by constraint<sup>2</sup>; and we may well suppose that the monarch, aware, as well of his abilities, as of his adherence to Gregory's party, would be loth to sanction his continued residence at Rome. Having crossed the Alps, he sought—though not, it appears, until after Gregory's decease—his former abode of Cluni; where the respect which

<sup>1</sup> Paul. Bernried. c. xi.

<sup>2</sup> His own expression is "*invitus ultra montes cum domino papâ Gregorio abii.*"—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1590. But this may refer to a reluctance to acquiesce in the state of things which necessitated the pope to undertake the journey. According to Bonizo, Hildebrand went "*volens erga dominum suum exhibere reverentiam,*" &c. Vid. Ottonis Frisingensis episc. Chronicon, l. vi. c. xxxii.

he enjoyed among the inmates of the monastery, procured his speedy elevation to the dignity of its Prior<sup>1</sup>; and where he was permitted to enjoy another brief interval of retirement and uninterrupted devotion, before the course of events called him, as we shall hereafter see, to active and unintermitting labours in the papal city.

Henry—for we now resume the thread of our public history—on his return to Germany, lost no time in manifesting his intention to persevere in the good work on which he had entered, of purifying the Church from her abuses. Summoning around him, during the summer of 1047, the prelates of his country<sup>2</sup>, he thus spoke: “It is with sorrow that I address you, ye that “stand in Christ’s stead over the Church which He “purchased with His blood. For, as it was out of the “free grace of God the Father, that He was given “unto us, and born of the Blessed Virgin, so did He “enjoin His Apostles, ‘Freely ye have received, freely “give.’ But ye, corrupted by avarice, are under a “curse, because ye give and take in barter for the holy “treasures which ye dispense: and even my father, “for whose soul I am most anxious<sup>3</sup>, was in his life- “time too much led away by this accursed covetous- “ness. He, among you, who feels himself sullied by

<sup>1</sup> At Cluni, under the abbot, there were two priors—a prior major and a prior claustralis—the latter being a kind of deputy of the former, and representing him in his absence. Vid. *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii*, ap. D’Acher. *Spicileg.* t. i. p. 686, 687. Hildebrand was, probably, only prior claustralis.

<sup>2</sup> Probably at Spire. Glaber Rodolphus, the chronicler of this council, does not fix the scene of it; but Hermannus Contractus, speaking of Henry’s visit, in this year, to Spire, says generally, “*Ibi colloquium cum regni principibus habuit.*”

<sup>3</sup> *De cujus animæ periculo valde pertimesco.*—Glaber Rodolph.



“ this sin, should, according to the letter of the canon,  
“ be forthwith deprived of the ecclesiastical office,—  
“ whatever it be,—which he may hold. For this,—this  
“ is the fearful sin which brings down judicial calami-  
“ ties upon our suffering people; this it is which Hea-  
“ ven scourges among us by famine, by epidemic dis-  
“ eases, and by the sword.”

The prelates around him, too generally conscious of a participation in the guilt which he denounced, shrunk within themselves; and, aware as well of his determination of character, as of his plenitude of power, trembled for the issue. Great therefore was their relief, however overpowering their shame, when, in answer to their acknowledgment of guilt, and supplication for clemency, the monarch thus continued: “ Go hence, employ that well which you have ill obtained; and forget not, in your prayers, to implore mercy for the soul of my father, as of one involved in like criminality with yourselves.” He then dismissed them, demanding, previously to their departure, their assent to a decree which enacted that no office or station in the Church should thenceforth be made the subject of purchase or sale, and that whosoever should attempt the practice of such nefarious traffic should be deprived of any office which he might have attained, and be visited with the anathema of the Church. While, with regard to his own future conduct, the emperor, in the presence of the council, solemnly pledged himself as follows: “ As God has freely, of his mere mercy, bestowed upon me the crown of the empire, so will I give freely and without price all things that pertain unto His religion<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Glaber Rodulph. v. 5. Vid. Baron. and Mansi Concil. t. xix. p. 627.



Had the life of Clement II. been prolonged, he would doubtless have continued to labour as an active coadjutor in forwarding the plans of his energetic patron. But the life of this estimable pontiff terminated on the 9th of October, 1047<sup>1</sup>. And the notorious dislike of the Romans to a German pope, viewed in connexion with the events by which Clement's death was immediately succeeded, gave rise to a suspicion that poison had been employed to shorten his existence. For he had scarcely breathed his last, when the Tusculan faction arose once more in arms, and summoning their wretched creature Benedict IX. from his retirement, seated the unhappy man once more upon the throne of St. Peter; a position in which he was enabled, by the swords of his partizans, to maintain himself during several months<sup>2</sup>: while the evils and disorders to which Henry flattered himself that he had put an effectual stop, began to reign anew.

Many, therefore, of those who had the most indignantly murmured at the complete subjection of the Church to an imperial master, were driven, by these sad circumstances, once more to entreat that master to become the arbiter of her fate. The secret wish of some of the clergy seems to have been, that Henry should virtually annul the decision of Sutri, by restoring to Rome the yet living pontiff, whom they considered to have been uncanonically deposed. But this wish they durst not express, and the suggestion conveyed to the emperor, as the general wish of the Roman clerical

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.—Leo Ostiens.—Abb. Ursperg.—The inscription on Clement's tomb in Bamberg Cathedral gives the 10th as the day of his decease, but this inscription appears to be modern, though the tomb itself is probably the original one. Vid. Landgraf's Dom zu Bamberg. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens.

body, was, that he should nominate Halinard, the pious and learned archbishop of Lyons, to the vacant apostolic chair<sup>1</sup>.

Henry, truly anxious to make a good selection, would probably have attended to the intimation; but Halinard, averse to the exaltation intended for him, kept perseveringly aloof from his court<sup>2</sup>; and the monarch, thus compelled to look elsewhere, fixed his choice, after much deliberation, on Poppo, bishop of Brixen. The nomination took place at Christmas, 1047; but it was not till the following summer—17th July 1048—that the pontiff elect was led by Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany, to Rome; and there,—the intruder Benedict flying before him,—was installed in his high office, under the name of Damasus II.<sup>3</sup>

Previously to making this selection, Henry had written to request the advice of the leading prelates of his realm on the momentous occasion. But the only answer received by him, which embodied the feeling of discontent, just adverted to, against the proceedings of Sutri, seems to have been that of the firm and high-minded Wazo, bishop of Liege. “Consider,” replied that prelate to the royal inquiry, “whether it be not the guidance of Heaven, by which the seat of a pope, uncanonically deprived, has been reserved for him; when you see him still live, while the person whom your command had installed in his room is no more. My advice, therefore, since you have deigned to ask

<sup>1</sup> *Diligeant enim eum valde Romani propter facundiam oris sui et affabilitatem sermonis.*—Chron. S. Benigni, in D'Acher. *Spicileg.* t. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 392.

<sup>3</sup> *Patritiali tyrannide dedit eis ex latere suo quendam episcopum, virum omni superbiâ plenum.* Bonizo, p. 803.—Herman. *Contract.*—Lamb. *Scafna.*—Sige. *Gembla.*



“ it, is, that your highness should not place another  
“ intruder in the chair of a yet living pontiff; for  
“ neither do laws human nor laws divine allow,—and this  
“ the Fathers unanimously testify,—that a pope should  
“ be judged by any but God alone. I protest, before  
“ God, and by the oath which I, an unworthy priest, have  
“ taken before you, that I can think of no advice more  
“ true, more sound, to give you in this matter <sup>1</sup>. ”

This message was naturally kept back from the emperor, by those about him; as long as possible, nor did it reach his ears until his decision in favour of Poppo had been virtually made; when the only result which it produced was, that it induced Henry to treat Wazo with an unwonted and unmerited coldness, during the few remaining months of that respected prelate's life. Wazo died in July, 1048, and the ex-pontiff, whose cause he had advocated did not, it would seem, long, if at all, survive him. For, though the circumstance just narrated proves Gregory VI. to have survived the nomination of Damasus, yet his death is stated to have followed, at no long interval, his deposition and removal to Germany <sup>2</sup>.

But Henry had scarcely received the tidings of the installation of the second pope whom he had given to the chair of St. Peter, when they were succeeded by the intelligence that the newly-enthroned pontiff was no more. Damasus II. closed his earthly career on the 8th of August; within the brief space of three or four weeks from his formal assumption of the duties of his office <sup>3</sup>; and the rapidity with which the one event

<sup>1</sup> Alexandri Gesta Episcoporum Leodiens. c. 62. ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. ampliss. t. iv. p. 902.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo.—Herman. Contract.—Leo Ostiens.



succeeded the other, could not but tend to corroborate the suspicions already current respecting the decease of Clement, as well as to give rise to similar ones on the present occasion<sup>1</sup>. Henry, therefore, on undertaking again the arduous task of worthily filling the apostolic see, had a new difficulty to contend with, in addition to all those which had formerly perplexed him. He found, among the German prelates, whom he first sounded on the subject, a general reluctance to accept a dignity, which appeared to be fraught with such mysterious danger<sup>2</sup>. He therefore turned his thoughts to the bishops beyond the Rhine; and, with the view of making a selection in that quarter, he summoned a council, to be holden in their neighbourhood, at Worms, for the Christmas of 1048.

Halinard of Lyons, it seems, yet continued to avoid the imperial court,—or Henry could scarce have failed to compel him to assume the pontifical name;—and, under these circumstances, when the council met, the unanimous voice of the dignitaries assembled, proclaimed that Bruno, bishop of Toul, was the fittest person to fill the papal chair. Bruno was a native of Alsace, and nearly connected by blood with Henry himself<sup>3</sup>. His character was mild and unambitious, his devotion fervent, his manners courteous and popular; and he was possessed, if not of commanding talents, at least of considerable energy and activity of character. He was far from either expecting or desiring his own elevation. When it was first announced to him, he requested three days to

<sup>1</sup> Hunc Pontificem (Damasum II.) veneno a Benedicto IX. propinato extinctum asserit Benno. Pagi, Breviar.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 803.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo.

consider of his acceptance or rejection of the proffered dignity; and at the end of that period, in the hope of being still permitted to decline it, he made before the assembly a humble confession of his faults, and thus endeavoured to impress them with a conviction of his unworthiness to occupy the throne of St. Peter. But his efforts were vain: the assembly overruled his objections; the envoys from Rome who were present, were urgent in their entreaties to him; and he found himself compelled to assume, on the spot, the style and honours of a pontiff<sup>1</sup>.

The time had now arrived, in which Hildebrand was destined to connect himself more closely than he had yet done, with the leading transactions of his time; and to take his first overt step toward the practical realization of that theory to which he, and those who thought with him, so ardently clung. Bruno knew and respected his zeal and his ability; and, as he happened to be at Worms during the session of the council, the newly-chosen pontiff sent for him, and requested him to be the companion of his intended journey to Rome. "I cannot," said Hildebrand, "accompany you;" and, when pressed to declare the reason of this, probably unexpected, refusal, he said, "Because you go to occupy "the government of the Roman Church, not in virtue "of a regular and canonical institution to it, but as appointed to it by secular and kingly power<sup>2</sup>." This led

<sup>1</sup> Vita S. Leonis Papæ a Wiberto Archidiacono, l. ii. c. 2. p. 291. ap. Muratori, SS. Rer. Ital. t. iii. pt. i.;—S. Leonis Papæ IX. vita a S. Brunone Signiensi Episcopo, Murat. t. iii. pt. ii. p. 347, et seqq.—Bonizo, p. 803.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno, in vita S. Leonis; but other authors give other scenes of the dialogue in question. Otho Frisingensis describes it as taking place at Cluni, and Bonizo in Bezançon. Wibert describes Leo, as



to a discussion, in which Bruno, gentle and candid by nature<sup>1</sup>, and already, perhaps, inclined in his heart to favour the principles which Hildebrand now advocated before him, permitted himself to be convinced, that the legitimate electors to the see of St. Peter, were the Roman clergy and the people; and he prepared to shape his course accordingly. Returning to Toul, to make the necessary preparations, and to take a farewell of his diocese, he set out thence in a style very different from that which had usually been adopted by the nominees of Teutonic sovereigns<sup>2</sup> in their inaugural journeys to the papal city. Instead of the rich pontifical attire which they were wont, from the day of their nomination, to assume, he clothed himself in the simple habit of a pilgrim<sup>3</sup>; thus publicly testifying to the world, that notwithstanding the act of the German Henry and his council, he considered that his real election was yet to come. Leaving Toul on the third day from the festival of Christmas, he halted, on his way, at the monastery of Cluni, and from hence, if not from Toul itself, was accompanied by Hildebrand, in his unostentatious progress to the papal city. At that city, bare-footed, and clad in the humble guise which he had thus assumed, Bruno arrived in the early part of February 1049<sup>4</sup>; and, as he found the clergy and people assembled, and uttering hymns of thanksgiving and shouts of joy in honour of his arrival<sup>5</sup>, he at once addressed them, and having announced to them the mode of his election in Germany, entreated them fully and freely to declare

from the first accepting his dignity on condition of the assent of the Roman clergy and people.

<sup>1</sup> Ut erat naturâ simplex atque mitissimus.—Bruno in vita.

<sup>2</sup> Contra omnium apostolicorum morem. Wibert. l. ii. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo, p. 804. <sup>4</sup> Wibert. l. c. <sup>5</sup> Wibert.



their sentiments on the subject. Their election, he said, was of paramount authority to every other; and, if what had been done beyond the Alps, did not meet with their general approval, he was ready to return—a pilgrim as he had come,—and to shake off the burden of a responsibility, which he had only upon compulsion undertaken<sup>1</sup>. His discourse was responded to by an unanimous shout of approval; and Bruno, installed without delay in his high office, assumed thenceforward the name of Leo IX.<sup>2</sup>

From this event may be dated the regular, systematic, commencement of that important reformation, the history of which will mainly occupy the following pages. The pontificate of Clement II. had been too short to produce any effect, of a permanent nature, on the tone of feeling and habits of the time. We have seen that, on his decease, the scenes of anarchy and infamy, by which the papal city had been previously contaminated, had been enacted anew; and that Damasus II., when at length nominated to the vacant apostolic throne, expired almost in the moment of his occupying it. The great work, therefore, was yet to be done: we may believe the account of Leo's biographer, when he says, that at the epoch of that pontiff's accession, "the world lay in wickedness, holiness had disappeared, justice had perished, and truth had been buried, Simon Magus lording it over the Church, whose bishops and priests were given to luxury and fornication<sup>3</sup>:" and we may understand the feeling with which the

<sup>1</sup> Wibert. Bonizo.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.—Anselmi Monachi Eccl. S. Remigii Remens. dedicationis hist., ap. Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedict. Sæc. vi. pt. i. p. 627.—Gotfr. Viterb. Chronic. pt. xvii.—Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>3</sup> Vita S. Leonis IX. a Brunon. Signiens. Episcopo.

new pontiff's contemporaries seem to have regarded his assumption of the papal dignity, as the commencement of a new epoch, an era of blessings to the Church<sup>1</sup>;—a feeling which, in the spirit of their times, they embodied in the legend, that, in his progress toward Rome, his nocturnal musings were cheered by the harmonies of angelic choirs, who, in unearthly strains, proclaimed that the thoughts of the Almighty were now thoughts of peace toward His afflicted people<sup>2</sup>.

Had the pontiffs, whom Henry previously nominated, been permitted to exert a more durable influence over the Church's fortunes, it is probable, that any reformation which they, under the monarch's auspices, might have accomplished, would have borne a far less searching and decided character than that which was now destined, under Leo and his ecclesiastical advisers, to commence its operation. The emperor, in the innate honesty of his heart, and in his undissembled reverence for things sacred, hated the infamous practice of simony with a determined hatred; but there were features in his character which could not but disqualify him for the office of cleansing the Church from pollutions of another kind, or indeed from acting at all, in the highest sense of the word, as a reformer of the Church. With all his good and noble qualities, Henry was not adorned by the grace of personal purity<sup>3</sup>; nor did it by any means

<sup>1</sup> Leo, qui quemadmodum scriptum est, cœpit invocare nomen Domini . . . a quo omnia ecclesiastica studia renovata ac restaurata; novaque lux mundo visa est exoriri. Victor III. dialog. l. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Sigeb. Gemblac.—Wibert.—Chronograph. Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Erat affabilitate gratissimus, ac liberalitate perspicuus, atque humilitatis gratiâ præditus . . . universis circumcirca existebat amabilis . . . Tamen, pro pudor! unum in eo nimium erat reprehensibile, quod incontinentiâ carnis luxuriæ infamabatur. Glaber Rodolph. v. c. i.



comport with his disposition, while himself indulging in forbidden pleasures, to take an active part in the repression of a similar licence in others. It was not, therefore, to him, energetic as he was in other respects, that the Church could look with any hope for her deliverance from evils which, more detestable than simony itself, were at the same time even more widely prevalent, if possible, around her contaminated altars.

The papal reformers, however, more comprehensive in their views, as well as more pure in their lives, were prepared to assail simony and impurity side by side; and their mode of warfare against the latter of these two rank offences was, as is well known, an appeal to, and attempted enforcement of, those canons of the Church, in their time generally recognised as authoritative, but as generally disobeyed, which made a life of virgin purity incumbent on all members of the sacred ministry.

The question of the abstract propriety of these stringent regulations, or of the enforcement of clerical celibacy in general, is one far too broad and important to admit of discussion here. The reader is, therefore, referred to other sources of information for satisfaction on this head, and for the particulars of such early events in Church history,—the passing, for instance, of the canon of Nice, or the part attributed to Paphnutius, in the council of that city,—as bear upon this momentous subject. It will suffice for the present purpose to remark, that, during the two centuries which intervened between the election of Nicholas I. and the period of which we are treating, the Latin Church's adoption of the principle that celibacy was incumbent on her clergy, had been recognised by a number of decrees, and illustrated by a variety of events. Direct con-



demnations of the practice of clerical marriage will, for instance, be found in the reply of Nicholas I.<sup>1</sup> to the queries of the Bulgarians, about A. D. 860<sup>1</sup>,—in the acts of the synod of Worms, A. D. 868<sup>2</sup>,—in the epistle of Leo VII. about A. D. 938, to the Gauls and Germans<sup>3</sup>,—in the decrees of Augsburg, A. D. 952<sup>4</sup>,—in the address of Benedict VIII. to the synod of Pavia<sup>5</sup>, about A. D. 1020,—and in the canons subsequently enacted by the same assembly<sup>6</sup>. With the view of guarding against violations of such precepts, a variety of later synods repeated and enforced the prohibitory canon of Nice, against the admission, by priests, of any females, other than their nearest relatives, to dwell in their houses. Even this exception was disapproved of by Hincmar of Rheims, who cited against it a saying of St. Augustine, which had been quoted by St. Gregory the Great<sup>7</sup>; and it was abrogated by the councils of Mentz and Metz, in 888<sup>8</sup>; not, as it appears, before it had been in certain cases most fearfully abused<sup>9</sup>. A similar course was adopted by the council of Nantes, about A. D. 895<sup>10</sup>. The difference of opinion between the Greek and Latin Churches on this point, elicited from the celebrated Ratramnus, better known by the name of Bertram, an essay, in which the views of the latter are illustrated and maintained<sup>11</sup>; and before his time, Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, whose canons were published about A. D. 750, had gone so far

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. v. p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 739.

<sup>3</sup> Id. t. vi. pt. i. p. 579.

<sup>4</sup> Id. t. vi. pt. i. p. 617.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. p. 803.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. p. 813.

<sup>7</sup> Id. t. v. p. 397.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. pp. 406. 491.

<sup>9</sup> Id.

<sup>10</sup> Id. ibid. p. 457.

<sup>11</sup> *Contra Græcorum opposita Romanam Ecclesiam infamantium*, t. iv. c. 6. in D'Acher. *Spicileg.* t. i. p. 103.

as to direct the clergy,—as prohibited from marriage themselves,—to abstain from presenting themselves at the marriage-feasts of others<sup>1</sup>.

Justified, or not, as the Latin Church may have been in thus perseveringly opposing the combination of the sacerdotal with the marital character, we may perhaps,—in the stringency and formality of the above canons,—in the substitution of positive prohibition and denunciation for the tone of half-expressed,—half-hinted,—inducement and encouragement, in which cèlibacy is recommended in holy writ,—trace another symptom of that tendency to harden,—to systematize,—to corporealize,—the sacred dogmas and mysteries of Revelation, which has been already adverted to, as characterizing the temper of the middle ages; and as operative, during those ages, in modifying to the eyes of men, as well the fabric of the holy Church herself, as the deposit of eternal truth committed to her care. And, if so, it was not, of course, probable that men whose minds, like those of the papal reformers, were attuned by education to this prevailing tone of religious feeling, should see any error in canons which, while harmonizing with that feeling, presented them with the most promising means of putting an end to a state of things which filled them with the most just, the most natural, indignation. For the battle which, in fact, they undertook against their less strict contemporaries, was, unquestionably that of purity against impurity, of holiness against corruption. It might be thought that the general neglect of the restrictive ordinances in question, by enabling the

<sup>1</sup> *Regula Canonicorum Chrodogangi*, in D'Acher. *Spicileg.* t. i. p. 579.



clergy to contract the engagements of marriage, would have prevented their plunging to any extent into the grossness of debauchery. But this, the dark, the damning, records of the time show not to have been the case. The priest who had habituated himself to trample upon one precept bearing the impress of the Church's authority, had passed the great moral barrier which separates the systematically, though imperfectly, dutiful, from the habitually godless and profane: the consistency of his character was marred; and his progress to the worst excesses of vice was, perhaps, accomplished by an easier transition than had been his first bold step from obedience to its opposite. The infamies prevalent among the clergy of the time, as denounced by Damiani and others, are to be alluded to, not detailed. Such pollutions might, it is conceivable, have been better combated, had the reformers of the eleventh century, instead of enforcing to the utmost the strict tenor of the Latin decrees, removed the married clergyman from his position of fellowship with every class of the licentious and profane, by adopting the less rigid code of the Greek or other branches of the Church Catholic. But a line like this, circumstanced as they were, can scarcely be said to have been open to their adoption. Seizing the means in their power, they set themselves to achieve,—and did achieve,—a most important reformation; and we may not think lightly, either of their principles or of their labours, because that reformation was imperfect.

Established at Rome, Leo lost no time in testifying his respect and gratitude to Hildebrand, his adviser and friend, whom he admitted to the order of sub-deacon<sup>1</sup> in the Roman Church, and whom he placed

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.



over the important church and monastery of St. Paul<sup>1</sup>. The situation was a most honourable one: by connecting its occupier with the second great apostolic founder of the Roman Church, it invested him with a character second, in some respects, to that of the pope alone. But it was also, at the moment of which we speak, surrounded with the most fearful difficulties.

The estates of this holy institution had been stripped of every thing valuable, by the predatory bands infesting the Campagna—the offices of devotion were systematically neglected—the house of prayer was defiled by the sheep and cattle who found their way in and out through its broken doors<sup>2</sup>; and the monks, contrary to all monastic rule, were attended in their refectory by women<sup>3</sup>. Hildebrand, however, in the ardour of his soul, devoted himself to the accomplishment of an immediate reformation. Burning with zeal, he seemed to see, in dreams, the great Apostle of the Gentiles himself, engaged in the work of cleansing the dishonoured sanctuary, and calling upon him earnestly for aid in the operation<sup>4</sup>. And so actively did he, in his waking hours, labour in this good cause, that the evils, which he confronted, gradually disappeared before his exertions. The affairs of the monastery were restored to order, and the brethren were recalled to habits of strictness and purity, suitable to the vows which they had taken. And so strong, in after-life,

<sup>1</sup> Paul Bernried. c. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Such profanation of holy buildings was not unparalleled at the time. In some capitula of an author who seems to have flourished about this period, though his name and station is not known, it is said, "*Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fœnum congeri.*"—*Vid. Mansi, t. xix. p. 705.*

<sup>3</sup> Paul Bernried. c. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

was Hildebrand's attachment to them,—so great was his confidence in the efficacy of their united prayers,—that if, at any time, he felt himself sinking under the troubles and embarrassments which beset him, he would send for them, and inquire what sinful action had been committed among them, which closed the ear of Heaven to the petitions, which he knew that their community ever offered in his favour<sup>1</sup>.

The conduct of Leo, in the matter of his election, could scarcely be acceptable to the imperial patron, by whom he had been originally nominated. Henry, however, was, in all probability, but imperfectly acquainted with its details; and as he was, at any rate, incapable of appreciating the importance of the principle which it asserted and exemplified, he may naturally have seen, in the pilgrimage and apparent non-recognition, by his nominee, of the validity of his appointment, nothing more than further demonstrations of that diffidence and humility, with which Bruno had, at the first, striven to resist his contemplated elevation. Henry knew, besides, the new pontiff, in the character of an attached friend and relative, and would not, therefore, be disposed to regard the details of his demeanour with a jealous eye. And the monarch's attention was, during the winter of 1048-49, powerfully attracted in other quarters, by the wars and troubles which afflicted and menaced his empire. For Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, surnamed the Bearded, whom he had some years before refused to enfeoff with more than a moiety of the territories held by that noble's father, the

<sup>1</sup> Tam singularem cœpit habere fiduciam super opitulationibus precum illorum, ut, si quando non liberaretur ab adversitatibus, certissimum ei signum fieret, alicujus delicti impedimentum esse inter eos: quo præsentiæ ipsius examinatione correcto, solito cursu liberationem ejus acceleratam ferret oratio. Paul Bernried. c. xiv.



late Duke<sup>1</sup>, had been thus rendered the determined enemy of the imperial house; and now, undismayed by the ill success of a former struggle, had taken up arms anew; and as this disaffected noble had procured the alliance of Baldwin count of Flanders and Dietrich count of Holland, his revolt presented, at this juncture, an appearance so formidable, that it seemed to require Henry's most energetic efforts to encounter and suppress it<sup>2</sup>. Nor could the monarch fail to be gratified by the consistent manner in which Leo, when once installed in his seat, proceeded to promote those measures of ecclesiastical reformation toward which his own efforts had been already so strenuously directed. The new pontiff had found himself, at first, surrounded by financial difficulties of a serious kind. The rapacity of some of his worthless predecessors had so plundered the Apostolic see, that he could for a time obtain no income for his maintenance; and he even appears to have thought of raising money by the sale of his vestments, and flying to his northern diocese, when some seasonable presents from Benevento diverted him from the design<sup>3</sup>. Leo presided at a council, holden at Rome, on the 11th of April 1049, which was numerously attended by the bishops of Italy; and to these he, in the fervour of his zeal, announced his intention of declaring void all ordinations made by prelates tainted with simoniacal

<sup>1</sup> Gothelo, surnamed the Great, had enjoyed the duchy of upper, as well as that of lower, Lorraine; but this union of two fiefs, generally divided, appeared to the emperor to invest a subject with too formidable power; and though Godfrey, for some time before his father's death, had acted as his general assistant in the government of both, he was only invested, on that event, with the duchy of lower Lorraine, upper Lorraine being given to his brother Gothelo, surnamed "le Faineant."—Vid. *Art de vérifier les dates*.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.—Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>3</sup> Wibert. in *vita S. Leonis*, lib. ii. c. iii.



practice. But against this a general cry arose from the sacerdotal order. It was affirmed, and probably with reason, that, were such a decree enacted, the Churches, so widely had the evil spread itself, would be deprived of persons to perform the necessary services, while the laity would be driven to despair, by being bereft of the offices and consolations of the ministry. And Leo was therefore obliged to content himself with a re-enactment of the decree passed on the subject by Clement two years before<sup>1</sup>. He then left Rome on a journey northwards, and after holding, during Whitsun-week, another council at Pavia<sup>2</sup>, he proceeded into Germany: anxious alike to forward in that country the work of ecclesiastical reformation, and to appease the troubles by which its civil relations were distracted. Appearing in Henry's court, he found that monarch actively engaged in preparations for the subjugation of his disobedient vassal, Godfrey of Lorraine; and, upon the emperor's request, Leo pronounced against that rebellious noble the censures of the Church. By this step, the spirit of Godfrey was subdued: he was smitten, too, with penitence, in consequence of the burning of the cathedral of Verdun, during the storming of that city by his soldiers; an event which, happening under such circumstances, he imputed to himself as a crime. And thus humbled, and pressed on every side by Henry's arms, he was soon reduced to seek the pardon of his offended sovereign; and for that purpose, to implore the effectual mediation of Leo<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Damiani Opusc. vi. c. 35.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 991.—Wibert. in vita S. Leonis, lib. ii. c. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 991.

<sup>3</sup> Propter componendum statum ecclesiarum, et pacem Galliis reddendam. Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.—Sigebl. Gemblac.—Alexandri Gesta Episcoporum. Leodiens. cap. l.—Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. 1046.

While this affair was pending, the pontiff, having been requested, by the clerical authorities of Rheims, to consecrate the Church of St. Remigius in that city, availed himself of the opportunity, to announce his intention of holding a council there, for the purpose of a general inquiry into the condition and abuses of the Church of Gaul. And the transactions which followed that announcement strikingly show the moral power then possessed by the papacy, even in kingdoms with which it was not immediately connected. Several of the French prelates and nobles took alarm at the declaration of Leo's intention, and represented to their king, Henry I., the danger which would result to his authority, as well as to their own, from his permitting the Pope to visit, for such a purpose, the cities of France at his pleasure. And when the pope, in opposition to the king's suggestions, showed himself determined to put his intention in practice, the monarch was afraid, in any more direct way, to thwart it, than by summoning his bishops and nobles to attend him on an expedition against some insubordinate vassals in another direction, and thus attempting to diminish, as far as he might, the number of prelates at the council<sup>1</sup>. Leo found, however, twenty bishops, about fifty abbots, and a number of other ecclesiastics, prepared to receive him, when he took his seat in form in the synod of Rheims<sup>2</sup>. But these dignitaries seem to have attended rather for the purpose of submitting their own lives and characters to the pontiff's investigation, than of aiding him with their counsel, or pronouncing sentence upon others. The transactions were carried on by the single authority of Leo himself, in whom the assembly recognized "the sole primate and apostolic

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 996.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1009.

governor of the universal Church<sup>1</sup>." His officer, a deacon of the Church of Rome, opened the proceedings, by declaring the subjects on account of which the council had been convened—namely, simony; the unlawful interference of laymen with things spiritual; unlawful marriages; the infringement of the nuptial vow; the dereliction, by monks and clergymen, of their engagements; the part taken by the latter in secular warfare<sup>2</sup>; several incipient heresies; and the prevalence of crimes of the most odious nature. And then the prelates,—the German primate, the archbishop of Treves,—being included in their number,—were called on by the same officer, under pain of the anathema of apostolical authority, to make a solemn declaration, in presence of the assembly, that they had obtained by no simoniacal traffic the sees which they respectively filled. The German archbishop, and most of the other prelates, complied with the demand; while those who hesitated to do so were questioned as criminals, and, upon an inquiry being made into their conduct, were deposed, or otherwise punished, as Leo himself thought proper to decide. The council continued three days in session, and then broke up, after enacting twelve canons, directed toward the restoration of church discipline and the purification of ecclesiastical manners.

Leo then, revisiting the imperial court, presided, together with the emperor, over a council, holden at Mentz<sup>3</sup>; and there procured the adoption of several regulations, similar in spirit to those of Rheims, against the sin of simony; together, with others tending to

<sup>1</sup> Quod solus Romanæ sedis pontifex, universalis ecclesiæ primas esset et apostolicus. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1003.

<sup>2</sup> De clericis mundiali militiæ studentibus. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1002.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1009. Lamb. Schafnab.



the enforcement of those long-neglected canons of the Church, which made celibacy imperative upon the clergy. It seems to have been in this assembly that the humbled Godfrey of Lorraine threw himself at the emperor's feet, and received a personal pardon, though his territories, now in Henry's power, were naturally retained by the victorious monarch. The council being dissolved, Leo set out on his return to Italy, accompanied—probably at Henry's wish—by the pardoned duke and his younger brother Frederic<sup>1</sup>. In the latter, the pope found talents and virtues, which highly prepossessed him in the young noble's favour; and Frederic, having been admitted to holy orders, was shortly appointed archdeacon and chancellor of Rome. In Italy, Leo continued during the next few years to labour with the same activity which had distinguished the commencement of his career, while, by the mission of Hildebrand, as his legate, into France<sup>2</sup>, he endeavoured to continue, in that country, the good work which the council of Rheims had begun. In the spring of 1050, the pontiff held a council at Siponto, and there deposed two archbishops on the ground of simony<sup>3</sup>. Further measures against this unhallowed traffic, and against clerical licentiousness, were taken by him in a council at Rome in 1051<sup>4</sup>. And in 1052, summoning a council at Mantua, he attempted to carry the strictness of his reforms into northern Italy. But the populace, incited by the lax and corrupt clergy of the place, assailed his domestics, while they waited at the door of the church in which the assembly was convened; and when he himself, in consequence of the tumult, came forth, it was but to behold the scene of outrage continued, while stones

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Berengar. de sacrâ coenâ adv. Lanfranc. edit. Vischer. p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1027.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

and other missiles, aimed at those who had caught hold of his robes for security, flew thickly about his person<sup>1</sup>. He was compelled to close the meeting in disorder; and though he presided, the following day, in greater peace, over the assembly, he did not venture, under these critical circumstances, to enforce his measures of reform with the customary rigour.

The personal habits of Leo, while he thus actively laboured in the cause of reformation, were of the most ascetic nature; his life formed a consistent course of abstinence and self-denial; and the hours of sleep were systematically abridged by his devotions: for, when at Rome, it was his wont, thrice in the week, to walk bare-foot at midnight from the palace of the Lateran to the church of St. Peter—from one extremity, that is, of Rome to the other—accompanied by two or three only of his clergy, for the purposes of praise and prayer<sup>2</sup>: a spectacle, which might well strike those with astonishment, who were accustomed to the scenes of infamy and riot, by which the palace in question, and the papal city in general, had been disgraced under the licentious pontiffs of the preceding age. But circumstances arose, not long after the events which have been above narrated, which induced this pure and holy pontiff to turn his attention to undertakings of a very different description, and to exhibit himself in the unwonted character of a military leader. And as the causes which led to his campaign had been long in progress, while that campaign itself, though short, was fraught with consequences the most important to the papacy and to the Church, the subject may be thought to deserve consideration in a separate chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1029.

<sup>2</sup> Wibert. S. Leonis vita. Victor III. Dial. iii. Leo Ostiens.



## BOOK II.—CHAPTER II.

A. D. CIRC. 900 TO A. D. 1054.

SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS IN NEUSTRIA—POSITION OF SOUTHERN ITALY AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY—DEFENCE OF SALERNO, BY NORMAN PILGRIMS, AGAINST THE SARACENS—NORMANS INVITED, BY GUAIMAR, PRINCE OF THAT PLACE, INTO ITALY—GROWTH OF THEIR POWER THERE—THEIR VIOLENCE AND CRUELTY—LEO'S JOURNEY INTO GERMANY TO SOLICIT AID AGAINST THEM—HIS RETURN AND MILITARY EXPEDITION AGAINST THEM—BATTLE OF CIVITELLA—HIS CAPTURE—HIS TREATY WITH THEM—HIS DEATH.

A NEW power,—that of the Normans<sup>1</sup>,—had, since the commencement of the eleventh century, rapidly arisen to consequence in southern Italy,—a power which the occupants of the holy see could scarce fail to regard, at the period of which we are treating, with the most serious apprehensions. This warlike and enterprising race, having, by naval expeditions from their native Denmark or Scandinavia, long ravaged the northern coasts and territories of France, obtained at length, about the year 900, a permanent settlement in that country, and gave their name to the fertile province previously known by the appellation of Neustria. And the century which followed this settlement, beheld,

<sup>1</sup> Vide, for the general history of the settlement of this people in Italy, Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*; Sismondi, *Hist. des Républiques Italiennes*; Giannone, *Ist. del Regno di Napoli*.



as might naturally have been expected, considerable changes among them. Settled amidst a French population, they gradually adopted the language, and embraced the religion, of the country; though both the one and the other underwent, it seems, a considerable modification in their hands. They preserved, however, through these mutations, the bold energetic spirit which had originally distinguished them, and which, as they extended their influence, stamped its impress so deeply on the general chivalry of Europe. Nor did they, in the process of refinement, entirely lose a less amiable feature of the character which had originally belonged to them,—the wiliness, which seems a constant characteristic of nations in the savage state<sup>1</sup>; insomuch that the leaders under whom they ultimately spread themselves over Europe, were for the most part as famed for their deep-laid schemes and crafty policy, as for their heroic achievements and personal daring.

The awe-inspiring character of their new faith, aided perhaps by the splendour then incorporated into its ritual, produced a strong impression on the fervent temperament of the Norman race. But contemplating that faith with gross and carnal eyes, they sought to give, as it were, visibility to its unseen truths, tangibility to its spiritual essence, by connecting it, as far as they could, with objects and places yet visible and tangible. They became assiduous pilgrims to the scene of the Redeemer's ministry, and of the other great events recorded in holy writ, as well as to all those spots which

<sup>1</sup> *Gens militiæ assueta, et sine bello vivere nescia, in hostem impigre procurrere; et ubi vires non successissent, non minus dolo et pecuniâ corrumpere.* Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii. p. 57. ed. Savil.

legends then current indicated as having been distinguished by subsequent manifestations of supernatural power. And Italy, when this practice became frequent among them, was visited by them in numbers; both as containing within itself many scenes of reputed holiness, and as lying on the direct way to the yet holier regions of Palestine.

Southern Italy,—that portion of the country which now forms the kingdom of Naples,—was suffering, at the commencement of the eleventh century, from a state of confusion even more disastrous than that which we have described as afflicting the northern provinces. The emperors of Greece, from whom the bulk of their Italian territories had been wrested by the conquering arms of the Lombard kings, had, by degrees, on the extinction of that formidable monarchy, resumed some portion of their former power; and Bari, the capital of their south-Italian domains, was the residence of a viceroy, styled the Catapan; a title, from the corruption of which, the province which they last possessed is known, even now, by the name of the Capitanate. The rest of the district which we are considering was subject to petty dukes or princes, surviving representatives of the once irresistible Lombard power; or else appertained to large and commercial towns, which possessed republican or aristocratic governments of their own. The African coast, and even Sicily, was still subject to the Saracen yoke; and the Italian princes, in their frequent feuds with each other, were often tempted, forgetting the difference of faith, to request the aid of these formidable neighbours, in the adjustment of their quarrels. To such requests, the Saracens were ever ready to accede: they were found, however, in most cases, to fight more for themselves than for their allies;



and those had often the most cause to regret their intervention, who had themselves invoked it. By the close of the tenth century, the power and energy of this martial people had materially declined; though they were still the objects of general dread to the effeminate inhabitants of Apulia and Calabria; as they still, from time to time, made descents upon the coast of those provinces, fortified strong-holds, occupied passes, and laid cities under military contribution. But the land thus distracted between the mutual animosities and opposing rule of three races, the Greeks, the Lombards, and the Saracens, was now to be visited by a fourth, before whose energy and whose fortunes all the three alike were destined to succumb.

In or about the year 1002, a petty flotilla appeared before Salerno, and a body of Saracens, landing under the walls of the place, demanded, with the customary menaces, a pecuniary contribution. Guaimar III., prince of Salerno, and his timid subjects, felt that they had no course to adopt but submission; and their surprise was great, when about forty pilgrims from a distant land, who happened to be at the moment within their walls, requested of the prince arms, horses, and permission to chastise these insolent marauders. The request was readily complied with: the pilgrim warriors, accoutred in haste, galloped eagerly forth through the gates of Salerno; the Saracens, confounded and dismayed, fled tumultuously from the onset of this unexpected foe; and esteemed themselves happy when their retreating barks bore them out of reach of the sword of the victorious Normans<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens.



The delighted Guaimar would willingly have been prodigal in his bounty toward his gallant deliverers; but he experienced a second surprise, when the costly presents which he laid before them, were firmly, though courteously, rejected. "For the love of God, and of the Christian faith," said the chivalrous pilgrims, "we have done what we have done; and we may neither accept of wages for such service, nor delay our return to our homes." They departed accordingly; but not unaccompanied. Guaimar sent with them, to their native land, envoys, laden with presents, such as might best tempt the countrymen of these hardy and disinterested warriors, to enlist in his service. Specimens of southern fruits, superb vestments, golden bits, and magnificent horse-trappings<sup>1</sup>, attracted and dazzled the eyes of the population of Normandy, and produced on the enterprising youth of the province their natural effect. Encouraged by the glowing description given by their friends of the sunny clime which they had visited, and of the opportunities, there offered, of enterprise and honour, swarms of northern warriors crossed the Alps: they were readily and honourably welcomed by Guaimar and other princes of southern Italy; and engaged, under one banner or another, in most of the intestine quarrels which at that period distracted the country<sup>2</sup>. The principal band of these warlike colo-

<sup>1</sup> Citrina per eos poma, amygdala quoque et inauratas nuces, ac pallia regia, et equorum phaleras auro argentoque distinctas illuc dirigens, ad hujusmodi gignentem humum illos non modo invitabat, verum attrahebat.—Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens.

Vincit pecunia passim,  
Nunc hoc nunc illo contempto, plus tribuenti  
Semper adhærebant; servire libentius illi  
Omnes gaudebant, a quo plus accipiebant.

Gul. Appul.

nists, subsequently to the death of Guaimar III., passed from the service of his son Guaimar IV. into that of the Greek emperor Michael, surnamed the Paphlagonian; and served with honour under his standards in an expedition undertaken against the Saracens of Sicily. But, upon their return to the main-land of Italy, dissatisfied with their new masters, and incited by Ardoïn, a Lombard chief, who had a personal quarrel with the Grecian governor, they declared war, in their own name, against the Eastern empire; and, with Ardoïn at their head, endeavoured to effect the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy. Two campaigns, those of 1042 and 1043, sufficed to make them masters of Apulia. Melfi, near the Ofanto, became the central point, or capital, of their states; and was in the first instance governed by the joint authority of the Lombard Ardoïn, and of William of Hauteville, surnamed Iron-arm, their native leader. Twelve important towns, Siponto, Ascoli, Venosa, Lavello, Monopoli, Trani, Canne, Monte Peloso, Trivento, Acerenza, Sant'Angelo, and Minervino, became in a little time the respective appanages of as many counts, who participated with the rulers of Melfi in the exercise of the general powers of government; and who thus gave to the first rude constitution of the Normans in Italy the character of a military oligarchical republic. But as the principal cement of this hastily formed government was the conviction of their subjects, that such an organization presented the most promising mode of gratifying their cupidity, and of protecting themselves from the retaliation of those whose possessions they had plundered; these rulers found themselves unable, even if they were desirous, to prevent the continuance of a system of violence and marauding, which rendered the name of



Norman a terror to Italy. The precepts of their new religion, and the awe inspired by the superstitions with which it was in their minds connected, became alike powerless to allay in the northern warriors the thirst for gain; and many a consecrated pile and holy spot, which had witnessed their devotions, when they came as pilgrims and worshippers, was subsequently profaned, by their appearance as bandits and despoilers.

The tidings of these sacrilegious acts soon reached, of course, the ears of Leo IX. And when he saw that the insulters of the Church were also the ruthless oppressors of their fellow-creatures,—when he beheld the southern gates of Rome daily thronged by the wretched inhabitants of Apulia, who, destitute, blinded, and horribly mutilated, were seeking a refuge from further tyranny behind the sheltering walls of the papal city<sup>1</sup>, the pitying pontiff yielded himself entirely to the impulses of his benevolent nature; and,—without, perhaps, a due consideration of the measure—formed the plan of leading an army in person against these barbarous intruders, and expelling them from all those possessions of the Roman Church which they had presumed to occupy.

Intent upon this project he, in 1052, crossed the Alps once more, with the view of soliciting assistance from the Emperor in its execution<sup>2</sup>, and arrived at a moment in which that monarch was actively engaged in warlike operations on the borders of Hungary. Henry seemed,

<sup>1</sup> Multi ex Apuliæ finibus veniebant, oculis effossis, naribus abscissis, manibus pedibusque truncatis, ac Normannorum crudelitate miserabiliter querentes. Unde factum est, ut vir mitissimus, pietate et misericordiâ plenus . . . compatiens . . . illius gentis superbiam conaretur humiliare.—Bruno in vita S. Leonis.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.



notwithstanding, at first well disposed to accede to the pontiff's wishes; but circumstances made it difficult to detach any large body of troops on so distant an errand; and Leo, after attending, during some months, the progress of the imperial court, set out, in the early spring of 1053, for Italy, accompanied only by about 500 German warriors<sup>1</sup>, under the command of an officer named Werner; even this scanty force being in great measure composed of volunteers. But when once more in Rome, he issued a general invitation to the natives of Italy to range themselves under the sacred banner of St. Peter; and a motley multitude, consisting chiefly of Apulians, Campanians, and inhabitants of Ancona, responded to the call. Some were animated by a natural feeling of animosity toward the oppressors of their country; some heard a summons from Heaven in the voice of its minister, and marched to the field under emotions similar to those which, in the following

<sup>1</sup> Less than 700, says Gulielmus Appulus, who thus proceeds to describe their nation:—

— hæc gens animosa feroces

Fert animos, sed equos adeo non ducere cauta,  
 Ictibus illorum, quam lancea, plus valet ensis:  
 Nam nec equus docte manibus giratur eorum,  
 Nec validos ictus dat lancea, præminet ensis:  
 Sunt etenim longi specialiter et peracuti  
 Illorum gladii, percussum a vertice corpus  
 Scindere sæpe solent, et firmo stant pede, postquam  
 Deponuntur equis, potius certando perire  
 Quam dare terga volunt, magis hoc sunt Marte timendi,  
 Quam dum sunt equites: tanta est audacia gentis,  
 Italiæ populo qui se sociaverat illis.  
 Germani comites præsumunt Transmundus et Atto  
 Et Burrellinâ generata propagine proles.

Gul. Appul. historic. Poema de gestis Normannorum,  
 l. ii. ap. Murator. SS. Rerum Ital. t. v. p. 260.

age, inflamed the bosoms of crusaders; while others, of a different description, were either lured to the campaign by ordinary hopes of plunder, or led to imagine that their service in such a cause might in some degree extenuate, in the eye of Heaven, the criminality of their previous career.

Opinions widely different from each other have been entertained respecting the propriety of Leo's conduct in this matter<sup>1</sup>. Whether Hildebrand,—trusted and deferred to as he constantly was by the pontiff,—took any active part on the occasion, is not clearly known. His participation in the project is invidiously urged against him by his embittered adversary, Benno; but the statement appears to be unsupported by other contemporaneous authority; and the work of Benno is filled with so many palpable calumnies against Hildebrand, that nothing in the nature of an accusation can be worthy of credit which rests upon his evidence alone. It is, however, undeniable, that Hildebrand, when exalted to the papal chair, himself entertained, as we shall subsequently see, a somewhat similar project. But it is also a fact, that his friend, and the principal organ of the party, so to call it, with which he at the time was acting,—the celebrated Peter Damiani,—has left on record his protest against the assumption, by the successor of St. Peter, of that earthly sword, the use of which had been, by our Lord Himself, forbidden to the Apostle<sup>2</sup>.

Such a proceeding, against a professedly Christian people, might justly at that epoch have been styled unprecedented. Familiar to the age as was the sight of

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Baron. Annal. ad an. 1053, n. 10 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Damiani, l. iv. ep. 9, et Baron. l. c.



ordinary bishops accompanying their retainers to the field, it was long since the spectacle had been exhibited, of an army avowedly led to combat by the acknowledged Father of the Christian world; and, though John X. had, it is true, somewhat more than a century before Leo's time, conducted his forces to the field, it was against Mahometans that he engaged in battle on the Garigliano<sup>1</sup>; and, not to mention the former decrees of prelates and councils upon the subject, one of the twelve canons of Leo's own council of Rheims expressly forbade the participation of the clergy in secular warfare<sup>2</sup>. But the compassionate pontiff was, in all probability, too strongly influenced by his feelings to reflect on the sanction, which—in appearance, at least—he was giving to a practice so recently condemned; nor did he, it seems, at all calculate upon the effusion of blood; but hoped, by the force which he reckoned on arraying in the field, to reduce the enemy to immediate submission<sup>3</sup>.

It was on the 18th of June, 1053<sup>4</sup>, that Leo's troops confronted those of the enemy near the town of Civitella. The Normans, when aware of his intentions, had made all preparations in their power to ward off the coming blow. William Iron-arm was no more; but his brothers, Humphrey and Robert,—the latter of

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 916. Luitpr. lib. ii. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ne quis clericorum arma militaria gestaret, aut mundanæ militiæ deserviret. Concil. Remens. canon vi. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1007.

<sup>3</sup> Non ut cujusquam Northmannorum seu aliquorum hominum interitum optarem, aut mortem tractarem, sed ut saltem humano terrore resipiscerent, qui divina judicia minime formidant. Leonis IX. epist. ad Constantinum Monomachum. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 959.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.



whom, subsequently surnamed Guiscard, had recently arrived in Apulia with a considerable reinforcement to the Norman forces,—succeeded to the command of his intrepid warriors; and Richard, count of Aversa, the chief of a smaller, but independent, Norman colony in Italy, brought all the force which he could muster to the defence of the common cause. But the Normans were dispirited: rumour had magnified among them the scale of the papal preparations, and they were awed by the sacred character of him in whom, even while he was their enemy, they recognized their spiritual parent. The heralds, therefore, who approached Leo while he was yet within the walls of Civitella, assumed an humble tone<sup>1</sup>; they deprecated his hostility, and informed him, that the Norman princes, though they declined to abandon possessions which they had won, were ready to hold their conquests thenceforward by his grant, and to do suit and service for them to him, as to their lord paramount<sup>2</sup>. But the tall, bulky, Germans, by whom the pontiff was surrounded, smiled in scorn when they beheld the diminutive though active forms of their adversaries<sup>3</sup>; and Leo, inspired by their confidence, as well as by his conviction of the goodness of his cause, rejected the overtures of the Norman leaders, and demanded the total abandonment of the lands which they had recently usurped from St. Peter<sup>4</sup>. This the Normans declined to concede, and therefore, feel-

<sup>1</sup> Herman. Contract.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Teutonici, quia cæsaries et forma decoros  
Fecerat egregiè proceri corporis illos,  
Corpora derident Normannica, quæ breviora  
Esse videbantur, nec eorum nuntia curant.

Gul. Appul. p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract.—Gul. Appul. l. c.

ing that no other alternative lay before them, they gave the signal for battle, before Leo had issued from the gates of Civitella. The result of the action which now took place, falsified alike the confident anticipations of the one party, and the desponding auguries of the other. The impetuous charge of the Norman chivalry at once unmanned the timid Italians who composed the bulk of Leo's army; and who fled in every possible direction. Werner and his German band met the shock with the calm courage of their country; but the Normans, unresisted elsewhere, turned their flanks, and hemmed them in on every side; until this gallant troop, contending valiantly to the last, covered with their corpses the ground which they had occupied. But for their resistance,—so sudden was the flight, so rapid the dispersion, of Leo's army<sup>1</sup>,—the business of the day, might seem rather to deserve the name of a slaughter than of a battle<sup>2</sup>.

The conquering chiefs pushed on without delay, through the streets of Civitella, into the presence of Leo<sup>3</sup>. But they no sooner beheld the venerable pontiff,

<sup>1</sup> *Occulto Dei judicio; sive quia tantum sacerdotem spiritualis potius quam pro caducis rebus carnalis pugna decebat; sive quod nefarios homines quam multos ad se, ob impunitatem scelerum, vel quæstum avarum confluentes, contra itidem scelestos expugnandos secum ducebat; sive divinâ justitiâ alias, quas ipsa novit, ob causas nostros plectente.* Herman. Contract.

<sup>2</sup> The carnage, according to Godfrey of Viterbo, who dedicated his history to Urban III., was so great, that a pile, composed of the bones of the slain, was even in his time pointed out to strangers by natives of the country. Gotf. Viterb. ap. Pistor. t. ii. p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> According to some accounts, Leo was without the city during the battle, and when, after its termination, he sought refuge within its walls, he was repulsed from it by the citizens, from their fear of his victorious enemies. Vid. Gaufrid. Malaterr. Hist. Sicul. lib. i. c. 14.



than, exchanging the fierceness of the warrior for the subdued tone of the penitent, they fell at his feet, and in abasement and tears besought the absolution and the blessing of their vanquished enemy<sup>1</sup>. Moved by this conduct, and induced by the exigency of his position, Leo revoked the sentence of anathema which he had pronounced against them; and they then escorted him with all reverence and honour to the city of Benevento<sup>2</sup>. Here the humbled pontiff remained nine months, during which time, at the request of his captors, he consented to grant them, in the name of St. Peter, the investiture of all their conquests, made or to be made, in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily; which they were thenceforward to hold as fiefs of the holy see<sup>3</sup>. By this turn of events, his defeat and captivity became productive of results more favourable to the papal power, than would in all probability have attended the most brilliant victory which could have been reaped by his arms on the plains of Civitella. Leo and his successors acquired a claim to the services of the Norman chiefs, as of rightful vassals; and the power was recognized in them of conferring the investiture,—as lords paramount,—of extensive domains, which had not previously been in any manner subject to their sway: nor was it to be feared that the Normans would hastily throw off the connexion thus entered into; as the same causes which had induced them to form it, would continue to operate in inclining them to uphold it. Their

<sup>1</sup> Gul. Appul.—*Mutatis animis, in ejus sunt conversi obsequelam: cujus osculantes vestigia, sibi immeritam deposcebant indulgentiam.* Wibert. in vita S. L. lib. ii. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract.

<sup>3</sup> Gaufr. Malaterr. Hist. Sicul. lib. i. c. 14. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. t. v.



crafty chiefs clearly saw the advantage of basing their right to their territories on a title more solid than that of conquest, and of linking their claim to the obedience of their subjects, with the duty of the latter toward the representatives of St. Peter.

Another result of the campaign must, if he were fully aware of it, have been still more gratifying than the above, to a pontiff of the humane disposition of Leo. For the Norman chiefs, who continued, during his stay at Benevento, to exhibit toward him every possible token of respect, were influenced by his persuasions, or by the reverence with which his character inspired them, to abate much of the brutality which had hitherto disgraced their proceedings. And the altered position in which, by Leo's instrumentality, they were now placed, had doubtless of itself a humanizing influence upon their minds. In obtaining the rank, they in some measure adopted the manners, of legitimate sovereigns; and in the dignified characteristics of settled power, were rapidly, though gradually, merged the turbulence and ferocity of the unrecognized invader.

But, notwithstanding these encouraging circumstances, we may well conceive that the unfortunate Leo felt humbled to the dust by the unexpected failure of his long-projected enterprise. His ardent temperament had encouraged him too confidently to anticipate a blessing on his exertions; and the same disposition now led him to trace the displeasure of Heaven in his calamity. While at Benevento, he employed all his hours, except those engaged in negociation or other necessary business, in religious meditation, in prayer, and in exercises of ascetic devotion. Though his health was declining, a carpet on the bare earth was his ordinary couch, a stone his pillow, and a hair shirt his

garment next the skin. Under such austerities, aided as they were in their effect by the sorrows and anxieties of his mind, his constitution gradually sank ; and when he at length left Benevento, and returned, in March 1054, to the papal city, it was only to breathe his last there on the 19th of the following April <sup>1</sup>, after having committed to his beloved friend Hildebrand the provisional government of the Roman Church, until a new pontiff should be appointed to the apostolic see <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> De obitu S. Leonis Papæ, ex codice Beneventano, ap. Mabillon. *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedict. sæc. vi. pt. ii. p. 78.*—Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo.*—The 16th of April is the day named in the *Chronicle of Hermannus Contractus*. *Chronographus Saxo* names the 18th.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1054 TO A. D. 1056.

PAPAL MISSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE—MARRIAGE OF GODFREY OF LORRAINE WITH BEATRICE OF TUSCANY—PROCEEDINGS AT ROME IN CONSEQUENCE OF LEO'S DEATH—ELECTION OF VICTOR II.—MARCH OF HENRY III. INTO ITALY—CONDUCT OF BEATRICE—FLIGHT OF GODFREY—HENRY'S RETURN TO GERMANY—HILDEBRAND'S LEGATION TO FRANCE—ARRANGEMENT THERE OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN HENRY AND THE KING OF CASTILE—HENRY'S INTERVIEW WITH THE FRENCH KING—VICTOR'S VISIT TO GERMANY—HENRY'S TROUBLES, DECLINE, AND DEATH.

It may be necessary, for the purpose of enabling the reader more fully to comprehend the position of the papacy in following years, to state that, shortly before his death, Leo had despatched Frederic of Lorraine and other legates to Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. The Greek patriarch, Michael Cerularius, had for some time publicly impugned the papal claim to supremacy, and also spoken in censure of various rites and practices of the Latin Church. And Leo, after asserting the one, and defending the others, by letters, was induced at length to despatch these envoys, with the commission to reprehend the patriarch in person, and generally to assert the rights of Rome in the eastern capital. The patriarch, however, persisted in refusing either to retract

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Leonis Epist. ad Michael. Constantinopol. Patriarch. ap. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 927.—Wibert. in vita S. Leonis.—*Chronograph. Saxo*.



what he had advanced, or to recognize the superior dignity of his Roman brother; and the legates at length took the decided step of publicly laying a scroll, containing the sentence of his excommunication, upon the high altar of St. Sophia<sup>1</sup>; after which, leaving Constantinople, they shook off,—in imitation of apostolic practice,—the dust from their feet, against the contumacious city<sup>2</sup>. The emperor, Constantine Monomachus, anxious to avert a lasting breach, sent after them, and at his request they turned back from Selymbria<sup>3</sup>. But their return was, through the opposition of the patriarch or of his clergy, only productive of agitation and tumult: after some little time they finally departed from Constantinople<sup>4</sup>; and this unhappy event may be termed the consummation of that great and lamentable schism, which had been long preparing, and which has divided the Churches of the East and of the West, from that hour to this present day.

A sudden turn, during the progress of these events, occurred in the fortunes of Frederic's brother Godfrey. By a marriage with Beatrice, the widow of the rich Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany—a lady who, contrary to the usual custom of the time, continued to rule the possessions of her deceased husband—the exiled duke of Lorraine became at once one of the most powerful princes of northern Italy<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sigeb. Gemblac.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. et *Commemorat. brev. rerum a legatis apostolicæ sedis Constantinopoli gest. ap. Hard. t. vi. p. 967.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Herman. *Contract. Continuat.*—Lamb. Schafnab.—Beatrice was daughter to Frederic II., who had preceded Godfrey's father Gothelo in the duchy of Upper Lorraine, and had been left on her parent's

On the death, therefore, of Leo, the papal city was no longer so completely under Henry's control as it had been when that pontiff was elected. An inveterate, and now potent, enemy to the imperial house, occupied its approaches in Tuscany. In the south, the papal chair, by whomsoever filled, might call, in an emergency, upon the willing services of most formidable vassals. And the form of Leo's election, had recalled to the memories of those Romans, who needed such reminding, their ancient privileges in the free election of their pontiff.

It behoved the monarch, then, to move with caution toward the appointment of Leo's successor, and to regard, in his selection, the maintenance of his own authority in Italy, as well as the respectability of the papal chair. The nomination of a prelate unacceptable to the Roman authorities, under existing circumstances, might seriously endanger the one as well as the other.

To Hildebrand, standing, as he did, high in the esteem of his countrymen, and entrusted as he was with the temporary charge of the Church by the departed pontiff, many eyes were in the first instance naturally turned as to that pontiff's most fitting successor; and his friends, taking advantage of this impression, were eager at once to elect him to the apostolic

death, under the latter prince's guardianship. Her life-enjoyment, as a widow, of her husband's fiefs, is imagined by M. de St. Marc (*Abrégé Chronologique*) to have been the result of some special arrangement entered into on her marriage—an arrangement in which the emperor may have concurred as a compensation for any claims which she might have on her father's duchy. Beatrice was first-cousin to Henry III., her mother Matilda having been sister to Conrad's empress, Gisela of Swabia.



throne<sup>1</sup>. But Hildebrand resisted the proposal<sup>2</sup>, and prevailed on them rather to send him as their envoy to the imperial court, with powers to select the prelate whom he might deem fittest for the exigencies of the time, and to demand of the emperor that person, in their name, as the future pontiff.

Shrinking from the weighty responsibility of pontifical dignity himself, he perhaps saw no other person, in the long corrupt church of Italy, possessed of the talents, disposition, and character, which were required for the office. And the power of the factions which were still fomented in Rome, by the counts of Tusculum and other licentious nobles, whose strong-holds environed the city, might well convince him that no pope could yet maintain there with success the apostolic dignity who was not supported,—and known to be so,—by the full weight of the imperial authority. He set out, therefore, for Germany; and,—either with the secret concurrence of his leading friends at Rome, or of his own sole motion,—announced to Henry that the Roman clergy and people requested of him, as their new pope, Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt<sup>3</sup>, the emperor's attached friend and counsellor, and one who had, as such, shown himself of late a formidable opponent to the principles recently brought forward by the papal school. The step, with whomsoever it may have originated, displayed a singular depth of policy, and a most accurate appreciation of character. Henry, though most reluctant to lose this faithful friend,—though, with the view of inducing Hildebrand to make another choice, he sug-

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 804. See the epistle of Dietrich, bishop of Verdun, quoted below, in book iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Vix multis lacrymis et supplicationibus.* Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Ostiens. in Chron. Cassin. l. ii. c. lxxxix. Herman. Contract.



gested the names of various other persons as fit to fill the vacant office,—could not, nevertheless, reject the proposal in terms so decisive as he might have done, had the name of one less friendly to him,—less notoriously devoted to his interests,—been submitted to his approval. And he must, at the same time, have felt a strong inducement to place, on the throne of St. Peter, a prelate, who had ever shown himself devoted to the imperial interests; together with a satisfaction that the wishes of the Roman clergy and people should have centred in one so personally acceptable to himself.

The firmness, consequently, of Hildebrand, at length prevailed. Henry's reluctance gave way; and Gebhard, who seems himself to have been as averse as was his sovereign to his exaltation<sup>1</sup>, was induced to acquiesce in it. Unfriendly as he had hitherto been to the papal policy, he possessed,—as his intelligent proposer no doubt was aware,—principles and a character, which could scarcely fail to lead him, when placed in his new situation, and surrounded by new associations, to a line of conduct more suitable to the views of the Roman conclave, than to those of his imperial master. And as his talents were considerable, while his name was universally respected, his nomination at once put into the chair of Leo an able successor, and deprived the opposite, or imperial, interest, of him who had been till then among the ablest of its champions and defenders.

The nomination of Gebhard took place, it seems, at Mentz<sup>2</sup>, late in the autumn of 1054; and though Henry, in acceding to that measure, doubted not that he was placing a firm friend over the metropolis of Italy, he

<sup>1</sup> *Invito licet imperatore, invito etiam eodem ipso episcopo.* Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Herman. Contract. Continuat.

felt that his now jeopardized authority in that country could only be successfully maintained by his own immediate presence there. Having, therefore, settled the affairs of Germany in comparative tranquillity, and having procured, in that country, the election and coronation of his infant son Henry<sup>1</sup>, as his future successor, he crossed the Alps in the spring of 1055<sup>2</sup>, at the head of a considerable force, and in the company of the pontiff. From Verona, where the king halted in April, he sent Gebhard forward to Rome, where the latter, after being elected in due canonical form, was consecrated on Maundy Thursday—April 13—by the name of Victor II.<sup>3</sup>

The emperor had previously instructed all influential nobles and princes of Italy, by letters, to keep a watchful eye upon the proceedings of Godfrey, whom he spoke of as a public enemy; and it was now no secret that the principal motive of his appearance in Italy was the wish to humble the noble, thus powerful once more. Godfrey, alarmed by his demonstrations, sent envoys to assure him of the innocence of his intentions, and of his continued fealty. “Nothing,” he bade them say, “was farther than rebellion from his thoughts—on the contrary, he was ready to brave every thing for the welfare of the emperor and of the state. Exiled as he

<sup>1</sup> Born 11th Nov. 1051, Lamb. Schafnab. An oath of fealty to him had been exacted by his father from the nobles of the empire in the Christmas following his birth. Id.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Herman. Contract. Continuât.—Id fuit in Victoris II. electione singulare quod unius Hildebrandi suffragio Romanam sedem adeptus est. Id enim Hildebrandi in ecclesiam meritis ab universo clero datum est, ut quem ex imperatoris consensu elegisset, ejus rata esset electio. Cantelius, metropolitan. urb. hist. pt. ii. dissert. iv.



“ had been from his country, and deprived of his paternal possessions, the wealth of his wife formed the sole means of his support: nor had he formed that connexion but with the princess’s own free and solemnly expressed consent<sup>1</sup>;” and, though Godfrey was too wary to put himself into the power of his displeased sovereign, he permitted Beatrice herself, accompanied by her young daughter Matilda, to appear and plead her cause before him. Nearly connected as she was, by blood, with himself, Henry would scarce admit her into his presence, or listen to her story; she persevered, however, boldly in her justification; she had done, she said, nothing, but what the law of all nations allowed her to do. Bereft of her husband, she had sought another master for his vacant house, and, herself a free woman, had married a free man, without fraud or sinister machination. Henry was still unappeased, and though, aware of Godfrey’s talents and power, and fearful of his calling the formidable Normans to his aid, he was constrained to declare the prince innocent of any violation of the imperial laws, he nevertheless commanded the detention of Beatrice in his court; partly because, as he gave out, she had surrendered herself as a hostage; and partly because he considered her to have committed a grave offence, in marrying, without his consent, a man who had been declared a public enemy<sup>2</sup>. This sufficiently convinced Godfrey of the continued unfriendliness of Henry’s intentions towards himself; and finding that the monarch was constantly extending his negotiations among the Lombard nobles, for the purpose of compassing his ruin, he resolved on thwarting these in

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—Herman. Contract. Continuatur.—Chronograph. Saxo.



what, his politic genius taught him, would prove the most effectual manner.

Crossing the Alps in secret, he suddenly reappeared in his native Lorraine; and finding his old ally, Baldwin of Flanders, still ready to espouse his cause, he commenced, in company with that chief, the siege of Antwerp. From before this place, the appearance of imperial reinforcements obliged them to retire; but, foiled as they thus were, their revolt continued to present an appearance so formidable, that Henry felt himself compelled, after some little time, reluctantly to abandon his Italian schemes, and to attend to the security of his northern dominions. He recrossed the Alps, in the winter of 1055, bearing with him Beatrice and her daughter in honourable captivity<sup>1</sup>. Taking his road through Switzerland, he halted for the festival of Christmas at Zurich, and there arranged the future marriage of his son, then five years old, with Bertha, daughter of Otho, the Margrave of Susa<sup>2</sup>. The Easter of 1056 was spent by the monarch in the episcopal city of Paderborn<sup>3</sup>; and shortly after that season he established himself again in Goslar.

During his stay in Italy, he had found time to hold, in concert with Pope Victor, a council at Florence, in which a decree was passed against the alienation of Church property, and various matters were discussed relating to discipline and doctrine<sup>4</sup>. The new pontiff, already in some sort a disciplinarian, soon showed, as Hildebrand had anticipated, his readiness to advance, in the reformation of abuses, upon the broad principles which characterized the papal school<sup>5</sup>. And though Vic-

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 804.      <sup>2</sup> Berthold. Const.      <sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1039.—Damiani ep. lib. iv. 12.—Bonizo, p. 804.

<sup>5</sup> Studium severioris disciplinæ et decretorum Leonis IX. observantia hostes nonnullos fecit Victori Papæ,—Pagi Breviar.

tor is said never to have entirely forgiven Hildebrand his pertinacity in the matter of his election,—and indeed to have looked, from that time, with dislike upon monks in general,—he felt the necessity of treating a person so distinguished, with the deference to which his talents and character entitled him, and sent him back as legate to France, armed with all the necessary powers to contend against the abuses which, notwithstanding Leo's efforts in that country, were still fearfully prevalent in the Gallican Church. And Hildebrand's success in this contest must needs have been great, since chronicles of the time describe it as attended with miracle. An archbishop, it is said, who had been on good grounds accused before him of simoniacal traffic, had contrived to bribe the principal evidences against him to silence, and then, presenting himself with a bold front before the legate, demanded to be confronted with his accusers. "Believest thou," said Hildebrand, "the Holy Spirit to be of one substance and Deity with the Father and with the Son?" "I do," answered the archbishop. "Then," rejoined Hildebrand, "say before us, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.'" The suspected prelate attempted to comply; but when he had said "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son," his voice failed him, and notwithstanding all his efforts, he found it impossible to recite the remainder of the doxology<sup>1</sup>. In distress and confusion, he threw himself before the legate, con-

<sup>1</sup> "Credisne, o Episcopo, Spiritum Sanctum unius cum Patre et Filio esse substantiæ et Deitatis?" Quo respondente, "Credo," "Dic," inquit, "Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto." . . . . "Gloria Patri et Filio" dicebat; sed Spiritum Sanctum nominare minime valebat.—Paul Bernried. c. xvii.—Pet. Damian. Opusc. xix. cap. iv.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1039.—Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.—Bonizo, p. 805.



fessed his guilt, and received with patience the sentence of his deposition. And so striking was the example, that no less than forty-five bishops, and twenty-seven other dignitaries<sup>1</sup> or governors of Churches, came forward to confess the guilty mode by which they had obtained their benefices, and retired from stations in which they felt that they had no valid claim to remain<sup>2</sup>. Other records of this time describe Hildebrand as gifted with an intuitive power to read in men's bosoms the thoughts which they concealed<sup>3</sup>, and to detect,—when those around him were tried by any peculiar temptation—the hidden presence of the tempter. Such narratives,—whatever may be thought of them in themselves—unquestionably prove the searching nature of the legate's investigations, as well as the general awe and veneration inspired by his character<sup>4</sup>.

One event, which occurred during his stay in France, is memorable, both because it illustrated, in a remarkable manner, that yet unrealized system of papal supremacy which future years were to develope, and because it exhibited Henry III., the lordly controller of the papacy, in a situation, relatively to that power, very different from that which he had been wont to occupy. Ferdinand, since styled the Great, the warlike and powerful monarch, who had united under his sway the two kingdoms of Castile and Leon, became so far flushed with success, as to think of assuming, if not the imperial title, at least such ensigns and characteristics of imperial dignity, as were inconsistent with the re-

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1039. Eighteen bishops, according to Bonizo, p. 806.

<sup>2</sup> Victor. III. dialog. lib. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Bernried. cap. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Id. cap. 19.



ceived theory, that the Emperor of the Romans stood single and pre-eminent, among the sovereigns of the Western world.

And Henry, naturally eager to maintain his privileges, saw a mode more expedient than warfare for preserving them inviolate, in a reference of the matter to the Roman pontiff. By Victor it was directed, that the question should be inquired into and decided by a council, holden under his legate, at Tours. Thither, accordingly, did Henry's envoys proceed, to plead their master's cause; and thus the world beheld the setter-up and puller-down of popes, the despotic controller of the city and see of St. Peter, recognizing, in the successor of that Apostle, an arbiter and a judge, even of his right and title to the loftiest prerogatives of his crown. To Henry's own eyes, secure as he probably was of a favourable decision, this recognition seemed a mere form,—an empty show,—such as had been his apparent acceptance of the imperial dignity, from the hands of his own nominee, Clement II. Whatever necessity he might sometimes feel himself under, during this latter portion of his reign, of acting, toward the Roman authorities, in the tone of compromise, rather than in the language of uncontrolled sovereignty, he doubtless considered such necessity to be but of a temporary nature; and saw not, in the apparently trivial and momentary obstacles which embarrassed his motions, the precursors and symptoms of a great moral revolution already in progress of developement. He hesitated not, therefore, to do homage to the semblance of power, in hands which he never expected would compass its reality.

The decision of the council, against Ferdinand's pretensions, was communicated to that monarch by proper

envoys, and his submission to it was required under the authority of the papal name; and the Spanish prince, acting upon the advice of the assembled prelates and nobles of his realm, not only abandoned, in obedience to the mandate, the pretensions which derogated from the imperial dignity, but would, it seems, have sacrificed to his fear of Henry, or of the pope, the original independence of his country, by acknowledging the emperor his lord paramount, had not Roderic Diaz, the celebrated Cid, by the firmness of his counsels, and by the authority of his name, diverted him from the measure<sup>1</sup>. No less respect, however, was shown to the papal authority, by the Spanish, than by the German, sovereign. Envoys from Ferdinand waited upon the legate to represent their master's case before him, and, through their negotiations, the matter was amicably arranged. But though this affair was thus peacefully closed, the subsequent months of Henry's life were full of troubles. Continually harassed by the anxieties occasioned to him by Godfrey's movements in Lorraine, he was, in the year 1056, engaged in an angry correspondence with the French king, with whom he had, by appointment, a personal interview, at a place named Ivoy<sup>2</sup>, in the territory of Treves. The result of the meeting was so unsatisfactory, and words, during the discussion, ran so high between the hostile monarchs, that the emperor at length closed the proceedings, by calling upon the French sovereign to meet him in single combat on the morrow. The latter could not openly decline

<sup>1</sup> Mariana. *Historia general de España*, lib. ix. c. 5.—Vid. Baron. ad an. 1055, et F. Pagi, *Breviar.* t. i. p. 528.

<sup>2</sup> Lambert of Aschaffenburg calls it Civois: his annotator (in *Pistorii Scriptt.*) says that it is called, in German, Ipsch; in French, Ivoy; "in Trevirorum finibus."



the challenge, but privately departed from the scene of the conference during the intervening night; and Henry, frustrated in his purpose, returned to Goslar<sup>1</sup>.

Here he was, after some little time, visited by Pope Victor, whose presence he had requested, and who at his desire had relinquished for a while his reforming labours in Italy<sup>2</sup>. The pontiff arrived at Goslar in time to celebrate there the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin,—the 8th of September,—and was received by his imperial master and friend with the most magnificent hospitality<sup>3</sup>. But Henry was found, by his former counsellor, feeble in health, and depressed in spirits; and it was, probably, on this account, that the court moved, almost immediately after the festival, from Goslar, to the castle of Botfeld, in the Harz. Henry here endeavoured to recruit his spirits, and reanimate his drooping frame, by partaking largely of the pleasures of the chase, to which he had ever been addicted. But the aspect of affairs continued to darken around him: tidings arrived that the numerous army which he had sent against the Luticians, a savage horde on the borders of Saxony, had been defeated with terrible loss<sup>4</sup>. Bohemia and other parts of his empire were in a critical, or disorderly, state. He had recently been

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> By his activity in these, Victor exposed himself to a constant and harassing opposition from that anti-papal party, to which he himself had formerly belonged. When suffering from it, he was wont to say. "This falls on me deservedly. Paul must feel what Saul has done. The lamb must bear what the wolf once inflicted." Leo Ostiens.—F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 528.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigebert Gemblac.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Chronograph. Saxo.



deprived, by death, of several nobles, to whose talents and loyalty he had looked as to the most solid pillars of his throne: and the drought of the past summer had produced an unusual prevalence of distress and mortality in his dominions<sup>1</sup>. This accumulation of evils aggravated, if it did not entirely cause, a malady, which attacked him at Botfeld, and which speedily overcame his exhausted powers. Becoming aware of his approaching end, he bewailed, with a contrition apparently the most sincere, the sins and follies of his by-gone life; he directed compensation to be made to all whom he conceived himself to have aggrieved, and requested the forgiveness and prayers of all whom he might in ignorance have wronged. He pointed out his young son, already crowned, as his appointed successor, and commended him to the watchful care of his mother, the Empress Agnes, and of the father of the Church: and then, while Victor and many other distinguished persons stood beside his bed, he breathed his last; dying on the 5th of October 1056, in the 40th year of his age. His remains were borne to his native province of Franconia, and there interred beneath the massy, and yet incomplete, vaults of Spires Cathedral, on his birthday, the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.

“Ad templum Spiræ dormit, quod struxerat idem.”

Domnizo.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1056 TO A.D. 1059.

ADJUSTMENT, BY VICTOR II., OF THE AFFAIRS OF GERMANY—APPOINTMENT OF FREDERIC OF LORRAINE, AS ABBOT OF MONTE CASSINO—DEATH OF VICTOR—ELECTION OF FREDERIC AS STEPHEN IX.—NOMINATION OF DAMIANI TO THE BISHOPRIC OF OSTIA—SCHEMES OF GODFREY OF LORRAINE—DEATH OF STEPHEN—IRREGULAR ELECTION OF JOHN, BISHOP OF VELLETRI—POSITION OF THE IMPERIAL COURT—TROUBLES IN GERMANY—ELECTION OF NICHOLAS II.

ON the death of Henry III., the evil tendencies of the system which, with regard to the Church's government, he had espoused, would have fatally displayed themselves; had not that system received an effectual check, from the movements of the new Roman ecclesiastical school. It would have been seen, on how frail a basis the honour and security of the Church would have been placed, had she indeed been bowed to that state of complete subjection to the genius of feudalism, in which the deceased monarch's policy had constantly tended to place her. The beneficial energy of Henry's government,—the rectitude of its administration,—depended upon his own personal qualities, and by consequence upon his continued existence. And had not the papacy, during the later years of his reign, recovered a sort of substantive being, the Church, which it represented, would have been exposed, upon his death, to all the evils attendant on the uncontrolled autocracy of an infant, whose disposition was as yet unformed, and whose training, in the possession of sovereignty, was not likely to be efficient in giving

a favourable bias to his disposition, or in disciplining his mind. It will be seen, even as the case really stood, of how formidable a nature the Church's perils, at this juncture, were ; and how severe a struggle it cost her, under her papal governors, to withstand the energies of that power which Henry III. had established over her ; and which was wielded, after his decease, in a manner very different from any in which that well-intentioned monarch would ever himself have dreamed of wielding it.

The presence of Pope Victor, at the critical moment of Henry's death, was a circumstance most important to the tranquillity of Germany, and to the stability of the youthful successor's throne. For the seeds of discord and confusion were widely scattered throughout the empire. The haughty nobles, whose power the emperor had abridged, and whose pride he had humbled, by the resolute assertion of his kingly prerogatives, saw, in his death, the opportunity of recovering the licentious independence which they had formerly enjoyed. And the Saxon chiefs, while participating in this general feeling, viewed with a peculiar spleen the dominion of the Franconian princes, upon a throne which had previously been occupied by a Saxon line ; and to which they persuaded themselves that their province had a kind of special right. The reign, too, of a woman,—and such of course would the child Henry's virtually be, while he continued under the guardianship of his mother<sup>1</sup>,—was a new thing in Germany ; and one which the haughty spirit of the Germans inclined them to think derogatory to their manly honour. While the gentleness and conciliatory disposition of the amiable Agnes,—qualities which would in

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.



almost any other station have won for her the love of all around her,—were, in a sovereign, too apt to be ascribed to weakness or timidity, and to give encouragement to presumptuous disobedience.

The authority, however, of Victor, commanded general deference. The young sovereign was unhesitatingly acknowledged as king of Germany, the discontented murmurs of the nobles were, for the moment, suppressed, and the principal enemy of the imperial house, Godfrey of Lorraine, was by the papal mediation reconciled to it. Godfrey appeared, with his ally Baldwin, before a council holden, in December 1056, at Cologne<sup>1</sup>, and did homage to his new sovereign; and then, receiving again his wife Beatrice, who had been so long detained from him, he returned to the superintendence of his Italian territories, and to the formation of new schemes, for the extension of his influence and the consolidation of his power.

Having arranged this important business, and adjusted, as best he might, the other matters of difficulty in Germany<sup>2</sup>, Victor took leave of the imperial Agnes, and returned, in the spring of 1057, to Rome, in which city he presided over a council, holden on the 18th of April<sup>3</sup>. He bore with him, it appears, full authority to act in the young Henry's name in the administration of the imperial<sup>4</sup> government to the southward of the Alps;

<sup>1</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1041.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Marian. Scot.

<sup>2</sup> *Compositis mediocriter, prout tunc copia erat, regni negotiis.*—Lamb. Schafnab.—Marian. Scot.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> *Vid. Stephani IX. Papæ Epistol. ad Pandulph. Marsican. episc.*—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1052.

<sup>4</sup> To avoid confusion, this epithet is throughout this work applied to the government, family, &c., of the German monarchs. But it is not, on all occasions, strictly correct. As successor to his father,

and it was, probably, business connected with this commission, which induced him, shortly after the day just named, to move to Florence, for the purpose of intercourse with Godfrey. Hildebrand either accompanied him thither, or met him there; and Frederic, Godfrey's brother, also presented himself before him in that city. This prince, on his return from his eastern embassy, had found his patron Leo dead, and himself in immediate danger from Henry's hostility<sup>1</sup>; for that emperor, jealous of all Godfrey's relatives, had given orders for his apprehension. But Frederic put himself in security against any proceeding of that kind, by flying to the powerful and celebrated abbey of Monte Cassino, and there solemnly devoting himself to a monastic life<sup>2</sup>.

The office of abbot became subsequently vacant; and the talents and virtues of Frederic—together with, it may be, the influence of his birth and connexions—induced the monks to nominate him to that dignity<sup>3</sup>: and he now proceeded to Florence, as well to procure from the papal authority the confirmation of this election<sup>4</sup>, as to urge Victor to direct the censures of the Church against Thrasimond, Count of Chieti, who had plundered him of the costly presents which he had brought from Constantinople, and who also withheld from the brotherhood of Monte Cassino certain lands to which they were entitled.

The pontiff readily confirmed the new abbot's election, and as readily pronounced against Thrasimond the sentence of excommunication—a sentence by which that

Henry IV. could claim no higher title than that of king; that of emperor, implying a coronation, by the pope, at Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigebr. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Ut supr.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Id. c. 96.



lawless noble was soon brought to submission: and then, anxious either to show his high esteem for Frederic, or to secure the continued alliance of his able and powerful brother, Victor nominated him to an office in the Roman Church, by creating him cardinal presbyter of St. Chrysogonus<sup>1</sup>.

Late in July, Frederic quitted the pontiff's presence, and, instead of taking up at once his residence in his monastery, proceeded in the first instance to Rome, to initiate himself there in the duties of this new station. Nor had he again left the papal city<sup>2</sup> for Monte Cassino, when the unexpected intelligence arrived that Victor was no more, having breathed his last at Florence, on the 28th of July<sup>3</sup>. A clamour instantly arose for the immediate appointment of a successor. The feeling which Hildebrand had with difficulty thwarted on the last occasion, had since that period been gradually increasing in intensity; and, to those who did not participate in it, the fear of the licentious nobles of the Campagna, who were now no longer held in check by the name of Henry III., and from whom some attempt upon St. Peter's chair might hourly be expected, would present a powerful argument for the necessity of a speedy election. A man, therefore, of Frederic's high character being on the spot, the Romans resorted to him for advice, and pressed him to suggest the name of a future pontiff. Frederic mentioned in succession five names, the first four being those of Italian bishops, the fifth that of Hildebrand, who though still but a subdeacon, had long exercised in Rome an authority far more extensive than properly

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



belonged to that comparatively humble station. But none of these suggestions were approved. Hildebrand, though a strong party in Rome now recognized him as their leader, was too strict in his habits and unbending in his manners, to be a popular favourite. He was, besides, in Tuscany, and though the idea was for a moment entertained of waiting for his arrival<sup>1</sup>, a conviction of the dangers of delay outweighed with the Romans all other considerations; and losing at length their patience, they clamorously exclaimed that their adviser should be himself their pastor<sup>2</sup>. Seizing the surprised and reluctant Frederic, they led, or rather dragged him, to the Lateran Church, and there enthroned him; hailing him, in honour of the papal saint to whom the day was dedicated, by the name of Stephen IX.: and on the following day (August 3) the consecration took place, with all customary forms, in the basilica of St. Peter<sup>3</sup>.

Sudden as was the event, the election taking place on the fifth day after Victor's death, no time was afforded to the Romans for the careful balance of contending difficulties, or the formation of deep-laid schemes of policy. But we can scarcely doubt that the clamourers on this occasion were, to a certain extent, the instruments of more skilful and practised politicians: for there was evidently no person whom the assertors of papal independence could at the moment have more eligibly selected than Stephen IX., for the illustration of their principles and the furtherance of

<sup>1</sup> *Fuêre tamen qui Hildebrandum adhuc apud Tusciam. . . expectandum dicerent.* Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> *Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 96.—Herm. Contract.—Marian. Scot.—Sigeb. Gemblac.—Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>3</sup> *Leo Ostiens.*

their views. Thoroughly imbued with their spirit, he could scarce fail to continue in the course of his immediate predecessors; while his acknowledged talents and character were such as must give weight to his exertions. Connected as he was with Godfrey, now the powerful, or rather formidable, ally of the empire, the empress and her counsellors could scarcely, even if so inclined, venture to go the length of gainsaying the election. And the name of the Tuscan prince would form a support to his power against the violence of Campanian nobles, as efficient as had been the imperial authority, and yet not capable, like that authority, of being perverted to the work of riveting on the Church the fetters of an obnoxious vassalage to the state.

Peaceably seated, under these circumstances, on the papal throne, Stephen lost no time in giving proofs of his sincerity in the cause of ecclesiastical reformation, in which, though feeble in health, he laboured with a determined assiduity, and with a monastic rigour<sup>1</sup>. It was by him that, according to a contemporary author, Hildebrand was admitted to deacon's orders, and declared archdeacon of Rome<sup>2</sup>; though other accounts would fix this transaction either in a foregoing or following pontificate<sup>3</sup>. Unquestionably, however, Hil-

<sup>1</sup> *Maxime pro conjugii clericorum ac sacerdotum, nec non et consanguineorum copulationibus destruendis, nimio zelo decertans.* Leo Ost. c. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 805, followed by the Cardinal de Aragon.

<sup>3</sup> According to Paul of Bernried. c. xv. it was Leo IX. by whom Hildebrand was thus exalted; but Hugo Flaviniacensis, in *Chronico Virdunensi*, ascribes the act to Nicholas II.; and Leo Ostiensis speaks of him as a subdeacon in the latter part of Stephen's pontificate, but as archdeacon on the death of that pontiff's successor, and Damiani (writing to Nicholas II.) of his being Victor's legate in Gaul, dum



debrand was honoured by him with every mark of confidence and esteem. And Peter Damiani, already mentioned as a distinguished personage among the churchmen with whom Hildebrand was principally connected, was by Stephen, early in 1058, preferred to the bishopric of Ostia<sup>1</sup>.

Damiani was a man of sincere and deep devotion, of extraordinary talents, and of a monastic austerity. He was of too ardent a temperament to be uniformly judicious in his proceedings; and his faith was of a description which led him to receive, without question, a host of legends of the most absurd description. But there shone forth in him a singleness and purity of character, which, in connexion with his abilities, procured him the universal respect and admiration of his contemporaries. And though, in pushing to the extreme the notions of the age, he must be admitted to have played no unimportant part in forwarding the progress of doctrinal corruptions; yet his name—when the nature of his position is fairly taken into the account,—can scarce be thought undeserving of the veneration of posterity. His exaltation, in this instance, was resisted by him with all his might. He

*adhuc subdiaconatus fungeretur officio.* Damiani Opusc. xix. c. iv. "Though archdeacons in these last ages of the Church have usually been of the order of presbyters, yet anciently they were no more than deacons." Bingham, l. ii. c. 21. § 1. And such appears to have been the case with Hildebrand, who was not ordained presbyter until he had been elected pope. "The office of archdeacon," according to the author just quoted, l. c. § 3, was "always a place of great honour and reputation, for he was the bishop's constant attendant and assistant; and next to the bishop, the eyes of the whole Church were fixed upon him."

<sup>1</sup> *Vita B. Petri Damiani per Joannem Monachum*, c. xiv.—*Damiani vita in histor. Ravennat. Hieronymi Rubei*, lib. v.



feared to be drawn from the unremitting austerities of his retirement; and it was not until he was threatened by Stephen and his council with excommunication, that he consented to exchange the life of seclusion and self-denial which he lived, for the activity and notoriety of a more responsible situation<sup>1</sup>.

Had the days of Stephen been prolonged, his pontificate would probably have formed a remarkable æra in the history of ecclesiastical reformation. Nor would it, we may conceive, have been less important in its influence upon the political history of Europe. For the brother of Godfrey was naturally disposed to favour the ambitious projects of that crafty chieftain. And the vacancy in the imperial crown occasioned by Henry's death, together with the childhood of the young king Henry, its expectant possessor, might have suggested, to a less ambitious prince than Godfrey, the possibility of placing on his own head the yet unappropriated imperial diadem, which it rested with his brother formally to bestow. With a view, it is said, to the furtherance of this project, the pope, in the character, which he still retained, of abbot of Monte Cassino, commanded his reluctant monks to convey to him in secret their conventual treasure of gold and silver; promising them a speedy return of its amount, with presents in addition. But when,—the story continues,—he beheld the collected store which had been offered at their altars, he wept over it, and, unwilling to desecrate it, by employing it in the secular schemes which he meditated, he commanded its immediate restoration to the sanctuary to which it belonged<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vita P. Damiani, per Joan. Monach. l. c.—vita ejusdem per Joannem Antonium Flaminium.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 98.

But the dazzling prospect of imperial honours, if it in truth ever assumed a semblance of reality in Godfrey's eyes, was destined to be speedily dissipated. Stephen's health had long been feeble. The consciousness, indeed, of a premature decline, is said to have been one of the causes which led him to embrace the monastic life<sup>1</sup>; and the relinquishment of that life, for the cares and anxieties of the pontificate, was not likely to restore his drooping powers, or renovate his decaying frame. On the approach of winter<sup>2</sup> he removed from Rome, and spent that season in his former home at Monte Cassino. During its continuance<sup>3</sup> he became convinced that he had not much longer to live, and consequently procured the election of Desiderius, a man eminent for talent and virtue, as abbot in his place<sup>4</sup>. He returned, however, in February to Rome, and there assembling the most influential among the clergy and people, he adjured them in the most solemn manner, in the event of his death, to elect no pontiff without the advice and concurrence of Hildebrand<sup>5</sup>, who was then absent on a legation in Germany. He then moved<sup>6</sup> to Florence, to take perhaps a last farewell of his brother, and there it was that, on the 29th of March 1058, he breathed his last, after a short pontificate of about eight months<sup>7</sup>.

The determination of the better part of the Roman clergy and people, to redeem the pledge which they had

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. 1054.

<sup>2</sup> On St. Andrew's day. Leo Ostiens.

<sup>3</sup> Circa ipsam Natalis Domini festivitatem. Leo Ostiens.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. ix.

<sup>5</sup> Leo Ostiens. Petr. Damian. ep. iii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> 10th Feb. Leo Ostiens.

<sup>7</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Leo Ostiens.



given, and to take no step toward an election until Hildebrand should return from the German court, gave an opportunity to the factious barons of the Campagna, and to their adherents in Rome, to recur to the violent practices of former times. Suddenly, and by night, the count of Tusculum and other nobles appeared, at the head of an armed band of followers, within the city, occupied the church of St. Peter, and presided over the tumultuous mockery of an election, by which their simple and ignorant creature, John, bishop of Velletri, was chosen to the papal see by the name of Benedict X.<sup>1</sup>

But the cry of indignation, excited by this disgraceful proceeding, was loud and universal. Peter Damiani, and the other bishops of the province of Rome, were vehement in their opposition to its perpetration, and in their denunciations against its perpetrators. To Damiani, as bishop of Ostia, it belonged, to act as metropolitan of that province during the vacancy of the papal see, and in that capacity to consecrate or confirm the destined successor of St. Peter. But he, of course, indignantly refused his countenance and assistance to the ratification of such an election as this; and the supporters of the intruder were forced to content themselves with an irregular, uncanonical ceremony, performed,—since no bishop was to be procured,—by the unlettered archpriest of the diocese over which Damiani presided<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Leo Ostiens.—Homo stolidus, deses, ac nullius ingenii. Damiani Epist. ad Henricum Archiep. Ravennatem, lib. iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Presbyter Ostiensis Ecclesiæ, qui utinam syllabatim nosset vel unam paginam rite percurrere.—Ibid. The heading of this epistle in some editions, by which it is made to refer to a subsequent transaction, is evidently erroneous.



Accounts of this disastrous event were soon spread abroad, and they no sooner reached the ears of the Empress Agnes and of Hildebrand, than these two illustrious personages saw alike the necessity of taking measures in concert,—of selecting, without delay, a worthier occupant for the papal chair than the intruding prelate,—and of supporting the claims of the object of their choice, by the full weight of the sovereign authority. The question between imperial nomination and papal independence could scarcely be mooted on an occasion like this, when it seemed likely that the authority of the crown and the privileges of the papal see might both be appealed to in vain, against the lawless occupation of the chair of St. Peter, by the nominee of an unprincipled oligarchy.

For Agnes, at the moment, was surrounded by difficulties and troubles. The discontented spirit of the Saxon race has been already adverted to. With several of their chiefs, private causes of complaint added bitterness to the animosity generally felt toward the Franconian line; and so alarming, in the spring of 1057, became the aspect of the province, that the empress found it necessary to summon a council to be holden at Merseburg, within the limits of the Saxon territory, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul<sup>1</sup>; and to take the young king thither with a strong escort, for the purpose of restoring peace, and of asserting the royal authority. The head of the Saxon malcontents was Otho of Nordmark, a nobleman who, having seen a fief, which he considered his birthright, given to another<sup>2</sup>, had persuaded several of his brother chiefs not only to assist him

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Annalista Saxo ad an. 1056.—Lamb. Schafnab.

in its recovery, but to raise him to the throne itself, and to compass, for that purpose, the destruction of the young prince who at the moment occupied it. Henry's authority, therefore, and life were alike in peril. But it happened that, as Otho was riding, at the head of his armed followers, toward Merseburg, he was met by Bruno and Ecbert, the king's cousins, who were also accompanied by their vassals. So fierce was the animosity between these chiefs and the Saxon noble, that they no sooner saw each other, than they rushed into combat; and Bruno and Otho, charging with a fury which rendered them forgetful of self-defence, fell almost instantly by each other's hand <sup>1</sup>.

This event, by depriving the Saxon insurgents of their intended leader, disconcerted their plans, and the council of Merseburg concluded its session in tranquillity. But their hostility to Henry's government, was only increased by the necessity, thus imposed on them, of checking its expression; and the scarce-stifled rebellion might be expected, on the first favourable moment, to burst into a flame.

In southern Germany, it is true, no danger existed on so formidable a scale; yet even here the imperial government was beset with difficulties and distractions. The presence of Victor had produced but a momentary suspension of the feuds and discords, which divided the haughty Teutonic nobles from each other; and a constant source of new dissensions among them, existed in the rivalry with which they sought, of their sovereign, the great ducal fiefs of the crown, as these became vacant by the death of their holders. Calculating upon the speedy death of Otho, who held the duchy of

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. Annalista Saxo.



Swabia, Henry III. had promised that fief, in reversion, to Count Berthold of Zähringen, and given the count his ring in token of the promise<sup>1</sup>. But Otho did not die till the year after the decease of his sovereign; and when Berthold presented himself before Agnes with the ring, he found the fief already bestowed upon Count Rudolf of Rheinfeld<sup>2</sup>. The latter chief, for the purpose of enforcing his claims, had possessed himself of the person of the young princess Matilda, the late emperor's daughter, then eleven years old, and demanded of Agnes her consent to his future marriage with her<sup>3</sup>. And the empress, unable to refuse, and ignorant of Henry's promise to Berthold, bestowed on Rudolf the duchy of Swabia, and endeavoured to make a firm friend of one, thus determined to be her son-in-law, by entrusting him also with the government of Burgundy; a province, the administration of which her husband had always kept in his own hand. Berthold, though he was subsequently invested with the duchy of Carinthia, was naturally embittered against the imperial house by this apparent breach of faith. And in Rudolf, —as the young princess Matilda died before she arrived at a marriageable age—the empress was aggrandizing one destined to prove, to her royal son, not an affectionate brother, but a formidable enemy.

Under these circumstances, unable to send a German armament into Italy, it was to the arms of Godfrey alone, that the empress could look for the maintenance of the imperial authority in that country, and for the liberation of the papal city from the grasp of the Tusculan intruder. And this was probably the cause

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>2</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Lamb. Schaf.



which led to the selection of the able and pious Gerard, the bishop of the Tuscan capital, Florence, as the future pontiff<sup>1</sup>. This prelate was accordingly demanded, in form, of the youthful king; and at the same time, by Hildebrand's arrangement, elected pope, by those of the Roman clergy and people who had fled from the domination of the intruder, at Sienna, on the 28th of December 1058<sup>2</sup>. And he then set forward, under Godfrey's escort, for the seat of his pontifical authority. Halting, on his way, at Sutri, he there, in the presence of Godfrey, and of Guibert the imperial chancellor of Italy, held a council of the prelates of Lombardy and Tuscany<sup>3</sup>; before which the intruder was formally summoned to appear. But that unhappy man, deserted by his adherents,—whom the name of Godfrey inspired with dismay,—no sooner received the message, than he fled in haste from the scene of his usurpation, and left it free for his rival<sup>4</sup>. And Gerard, happy to be thus spared the necessity of making his way into Rome by force, entered that city unattended by soldiers<sup>5</sup>, and was forthwith, peaceably and canonically, installed in the chair of St. Peter, by the name of Nicholas II.<sup>6</sup> Nor had many days elapsed after this ceremony, when his late rival, throwing himself at his feet, confessed the greatness of his guilt, and prayed for absolution. Nicholas granted the boon, but deprived him of his episcopal and sacerdotal rank; and he spent the remainder of his days insignificant and forgotten<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sigebert. Gemblac.—Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>3</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1061.

<sup>4</sup> Card. Aragon.

<sup>5</sup> Bonizo, p. 806.

<sup>6</sup> Between the 8th and 18th of January 1059. Vid. Pagi Breviar.

<sup>7</sup> Bonizo.—Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. iii.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER V.

FROM A.D. 1059 TO A.D. 1061.

CRITICAL SITUATION OF THE PAPACY—COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN, AND DECREE OF NICHOLAS II. RELATIVE TO PONTIFICAL ELECTIONS—ACCOMMODATION WITH THE NORMANS—OVERTHROW OF THE ROMAN NOBLES—AFFAIRS OF MILAN—MISSION TO THAT CITY OF DAMIANI AND ANSELM DA BADAGIO—MISSION OF ALDRED ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND OTHER PRELATES TO ROME—DISSATISFACTION OF THE IMPERIAL COURT WITH THE DECREE OF ELECTIONS—DEATH OF NICHOLAS II.

HAPPILY as the usurpation of this intruding bishop had been overcome, the situation of the papacy, when Nicholas assumed its administration, was by no means such as to inspire its supporters with sanguine expectations of its continued independence and security. The imperial power, though at present in abeyance, might soon arise to strength again, and re-assert its former privilege of despotic control. And recent events, on the other hand, had shown, that the weakness of that power might lead to disasters yet more fearful, than were to be apprehended from even its most vigorous exertion. Unsuccessful as the late outrage had ultimately proved, its temporary success sufficiently showed the probability of its recurrence. Every new pontifical election would afford an opportunity for a similar attempt; and even if none were actually made, it was vain to hope that the Roman authorities would act with a substantial independence, while aware that bands of licentious



warriors might, at any moment, be poured into the city from Tusculum,—from Palestrina,—or from Nomento,—to nullify the legitimate proceedings of the conclave, and to seat a creature of their tyrannical masters upon the apostolic chair.

In the north of Italy, meanwhile, a formidable opposition was organizing itself to the austere and reforming policy of the Lateran. The Lombard clergy had been more completely involved in the general corruption of the last years, than their brethren of any other Italian district. When therefore, through the systematic and energetic measures of Leo and his successors, the reformation, previously looked on by many as a mere speculative notion, began to assume in their eyes the semblance of a reality, they were seized with surprise and alarm, and prepared to resist with all their force its further progress. And the jealousy with which they were wont to uphold the dignity of their metropolitan Church of Milan—a Church which, glorying in the renown of her great pastor, the holy Ambrose, was loth to acknowledge an inferiority to her Roman sister,—supplied them with an additional motive for opposing the course of any policy, which avowedly emanated from the papal city.

The warriors, too, of the south, had become estranged and hostile.—The Norman sovereignty of William de Hauteville, shared for a while between that chief's surviving brothers, Humphrey and Robert, fell, on Humphrey's death, to Robert alone. This intrepid and sagacious chief—best known by his honorary surname of Guiscard<sup>1</sup>—was now the lord of Apulia and Calabria, and daily menaced with further

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* The wise one—a name akin to the, now contemptuous, term, “wiseacre.”



encroachments the feeble Catapans of Greece; who were barely able to defend from his arms the Capitanate, with the territories of Bari and Otranto. The Lombard principality of Capua had fallen into the hands of another Norman chief, who maintained himself there as an independent count; but the cities of Salerno and Amalfi, and the state of Benevento, continued for a while to assert a precarious liberty. In Victor, the Normans had beheld a representative of the imperial policy and power,—ever objects of their dread; while in Stephen they had suspected a participator in the plans and machinations of the intriguing Godfrey, who was known to be anxious to compass their downfall. Nicholas therefore, who might be said to come as the nominee of Agnes and of the Tuscan duke together, could not expect to be regarded with impressions more favourable. And, as it might be a doubtful point with that crafty people, whether more was gained by a recognition of the papal suzerainty, than was lost by the restrictions to the indefinite extension of their empire, which that recognition implied, it was by no means clear,—however Nicholas might seek to conciliate them,—that the connexion formed with them by Leo could now be renewed.

The new pontiff, however, who, like his predecessors, honoured Hildebrand with the highest degree of confidence and respect, proceeded, under the guidance of that sagacious adviser, to meet, as best he might, the exigencies of the time. First and foremost, presented itself the necessity of guarding against such tumultuous proceedings as had recently occurred, by defining the characteristics of a valid pontifical election. In that necessity, Hildebrand and his party saw an opportunity of straitening, as far as legal enactments could straiten it, the influence exercised on such occasions by the

imperial power; and endeavoured to avail themselves of that opportunity to the utmost extent. But the interests of the court were, on the other hand, ably supported by the imperial chancellor, Guibert; and the course pursued bore, consequently, in some degree the character of a compromise.

One hundred and thirteen prelates, in consequence of the summons of Nicholas II., assembled in council in the Lateran, on the 13th of April, 1059<sup>1</sup>. After passing several canons, of a tenour similar to those by which Leo IX. and others had attempted to restore the purity of the Church, they adopted, with regard to the election of its chief pastors, a memorable decree, to the following purport<sup>2</sup>:—"We decree and appoint, that, "on the death of the present pontiff of the universal "Roman Church, the cardinals<sup>3</sup> shall in the first place,

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1061. Damiani Opusc. xxx. c. i.

<sup>2</sup> Two ancient versions of this decree are extant: the translation in the text is made from that which appears the oldest, which is given in the *Chronicon Farfense* ap. Murator. *Rer. Ital. Scriptt.* t. ii. pt. ii. and in *Udalric Babenberg. Cod. Epistol.* No. 9. with the exception of a few words taken from the other version (that in Hugon. *Floriacensis. Tractat.* ap. Baluz. *Miscellan.* ed. Mansi. t. ii. p. 196,) the corresponding passage in the former version seeming to be imperfect.

<sup>3</sup> According to an account of the Roman Church in 1057, given by Baronius "ex antiquo codice," its constitution was then as follows:

The seven Cardinal Bishops (those of Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina, or Silva Candida, Alba, Sabina, Tusculum, and Præneste. *Vid. Cantel. de Metropolit. urb. hist.* pt. ii. diss. 5) were attached to the Church of the Lateran.

Of the twenty-eight Cardinal Presbyters,—

Seven belonged to Sta. Maria Maggiore.

Seven „ St. Peter's.

Seven „ St. Paul's.

Seven „ St. Laurence without the walls.

The Deacons were eighteen in number; six styled Palatini, and twelve Regionarii.

The Subdeacons were in number twenty-one; seven Regionarii,



“ weighing the subject with the most serious consideration, proceed to a new election ; regard being had to the honour and reverence due to our dearly beloved son Henry, who is now styled king, and who, it is hoped, will hereafter, by the gift of God, become emperor ; according to the grace which, on the mediation of his chancellor Guibert, we have granted to him, and to his successors, who shall have obtained a like privilege from the apostolic see. Taking all precautions that the pest of simony do not contaminate their proceedings, let religious men, together with our most serene son Henry, take the lead in conducting the pontifical election ; and let other persons follow their guidance.

“ If any of her members be found worthy of the honour, let the choice be made from the Church of Rome<sup>1</sup> herself ; but, if not, let a worthy person be taken from any other Church. Should the perverseness of depraved and impious men have so far prevailed, as that a fair, honest, and uncorrupt election cannot take place in Rome, let the cardinal bishops, with the religious clergy and catholic laymen<sup>2</sup>, few as seven Palatini, and seven others who formed what was called Schola Cantorum.

There were twenty-two abbeys in the city. And in addition to the seven collateral bishops, as the above mentioned were called, sixty-two prelates of Italy were considered suffragans of the Roman patriarch, being subject to no other metropolitan. These were frequently called in to assist in synods.

With respect to the title “ Cardinal ” itself, see Muratori de Cardinalium institutione dissertat. in Antiquitat. Italiæ mediæ ævi, t. v. p. 153, et seqq. See also Thomassin. vetus et nov. eccl. discip. pt. i. lib. ii. cap. cxv.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* of the Roman province.

<sup>2</sup> These last few words are inserted from the version of Hugo. Floriac.



“ they may be, receive the power of electing a pastor  
“ for the apostolic see wherever, in concert with our  
“ most invincible king, they may deem it convenient.  
“ And if, when the election shall have been made, the  
“ storms of war, or violence of malignant men, shall  
“ render impracticable the customary enthronization in  
“ the papal chair, the person elected shall nevertheless  
“ enjoy, as a true pope, full power of exercising the  
“ government of the Roman Church and of administer-  
“ ing her affairs.”

This most important enactment was subscribed,—the pontiff himself having first set his name to it,—by about seventy prelates or other ecclesiastics, among whom were Hildebrand and Peter Damiani<sup>1</sup>. And though the imperial right of interference was, in it, set forth in a way which their party found, in subsequent years, inconvenient; there can be no doubt that, as compared with her past state, the tendency of such an enactment was to raise the Church to a state of considerable independence as well as security. The populace, who had so often, in a capricious and tumultuary manner, controlled the proceedings of election, were prohibited from all interference with those proceedings until their last stage, and were then only to be permitted to interfere by an approval or disapproval of the candidates presented them. It was put out of the power of the nobles to give again, to an intruding nominee, the semblance of title, by a mock election. And in the emperors, who had learned to regard the power of nomination as their own, the sole right recognized was that of concurring in the election, and of sanctioning, by their approval, the choice of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1066.

prelates, clergy, and people. And the compliment itself, which was paid to the imperial crown, in the person of the youthful Henry, was so worded as, in opposition to the claims recently put forth and exercised by the sovereign, to assert the principle, that the crown was itself a boon to be given or withheld according to the good pleasure of the apostolic see. The clear tendency of the decree was, in short, to throw the whole power of election into the hands of the college of cardinals. But what was to be the fate of the decree itself; whether, systematically acknowledged and acted upon as occasion should require, it was to become an operative reality; or whether, overruled by imperial power, or trampled down by aristocratic or popular violence, it was to remain a mere empty demonstration, and to produce no perceptible effect upon the history of the world, was a question, the solution of which was yet in the hand of time.

The event which immediately led to a settlement of the question between the papacy and the Normans, was Guiscard's conquest and occupation of Troia, a city of the Capitanate, which,—though it had been long in the possession of the Grecian crown,—the popes, it appears, ever considered a rightful appanage to the patrimony of St. Peter. Nicholas, therefore, demanded of the conqueror, that the place should be surrendered to his authority; and, upon Robert's refusal to comply with the request, he threatened the haughty chief with the solemn denunciation of the Church. Bold as he was, Robert had not nerve to face the promulgation of such a sentence. He despatched an embassy to Rome, and endeavoured to bring about an accommodation; and the pope, who, like his adviser Hildebrand, saw the expediency of attaching the Nor-



mans firmly to the holy see, and the danger of continuing in a state of hostility with that formidable people, announced his intention of holding a council at Melfi, the central point of the Norman dominions, where Robert might himself appear, and where all matters in discussion between them might be amicably and definitively settled; while, at the same time, the benefits of the great ecclesiastical reformation in progress, might be extended to those outlying, and, till then, neglected regions<sup>1</sup>.

The council was holden accordingly<sup>2</sup>; the pope availed himself of the favourable position in which he stood, to enforce among the luxurious and irregular clergy of southern Italy, an attention to the canons,—against clerical marriage and other forbidden practices,—which had so frequently been promulgated in other districts. And,—with regard to the main object of the meeting,—the reconciliation, which both parties were alike desirous to make, was not long deferred<sup>3</sup>. Robert Guiscard was declared at peace with the Church, and acknowledged;—now that he scorned the humbler style of Count,—by the title of Duke of Apulia<sup>4</sup>. The pope consented to grant, and Robert to hold, all conquests which the latter had previously made, or should thenceforward make, in Italy, together with all such territories

<sup>1</sup> *Namque sacerdotes, Levitæ, clericus omnis hâc regione palam se conjugio sociabant . . . vocat hos, et præcipit esse Ecclesiæ sponso, quia non est jure sacerdos luxuriæ cultor; sic extirpavit ab illis partibus uxores omnino presbyterorum.*—Gul. Appul. ap. Murator. t. v. p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. iii. xiii.—Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1067.

<sup>3</sup> Card. de Aragon. in Vita Nic. II. Murator. t. v.

<sup>4</sup> “Robertum donat Nicholaus honore ducali.” Gul. Appul. ap. Murator. t. v. p. 262.



in Sicily as he might be able to wrest from the Saracen arms, as fiefs, under the paramount lordship of the holy see; and under the annual tribute of twelve pence of Pavia, for every couple of oxen in the Norman chief's dominions<sup>1</sup>. In token of this arrangement, Guiscard received from the hands of Nicholas a consecrated banner, and pledged himself as follows:

“ I, Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter,  
“ Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and, by like grace,  
“ hereafter of Sicily, will from this hour be a true vassal  
“ to the holy Church of Rome, and to thee, Pope  
“ Nicholas, my lord. In the counsel or in the act  
“ whereby thy life or liberty shall be endangered, will  
“ I not share; the secret which thou shalt have confided  
“ to my keeping, I will never, knowingly, reveal to  
“ thy hurt; I will stedfastly assist the Roman Church  
“ in the protection and extension of the royalties and  
“ possessions of St. Peter, to the best of my power,  
“ against all men; and I will support thee in the safe  
“ and honourable possession of the Roman papacy, of  
“ its territory, and of its privileges. No future ex-  
“ pedition or acquisition will I make without the consent  
“ of thee or of thy successors. All Churches in my do-  
“ minions I put, with their possessions, into thy power;  
“ and I will consider the defence of them an obligation  
“ resulting from my fealty to the Church of Rome. And  
“ shouldst thou, or any of thy successors, depart this  
“ life before me, I, under the directions of the better-  
“ disposed cardinals, the clergy, and the people of  
“ Rome, will do my best to secure the election and  
“ ordination of a pontiff to the honour of St. Peter<sup>2</sup>. ”

<sup>1</sup> Per singula boum paria denarios duodecim.—Leo Ostiens. iii. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Borgia Breve Istoria del Dominio Temporale, app. No. iii. p. 23. A shorter version is given by Baronius, “ex antiquo codice.”

The council then broke up; and Nicholas at once availed himself of the fealty, thus purchased, of his powerful vassal. At the pontiff's desire, Robert led his warriors on an expedition against the strong-holds of those tyrannical nobles, whose power had been so long the scourge of Rome. One by one, they yielded to his prowess; the bulwarks of Tusculum,—Palestrina, Nomento,—and Galeria, were in succession razed to the ground; he demolished all baronial strong-holds as far northward as Sutri<sup>1</sup>; and the tyranny, which their domineering possessors had so often exercised over the papal city, was put an end to for ever.

Nor, in the mean time, was the critical state of the Lombard Church overlooked by Nicholas or his advisers. The pride, with which the Milanese clergy in general asserted the dignity of the Church of St. Ambrose, has been adverted to. But the reforming movements at Rome had so far extended themselves to their city, as to give birth to a party within its walls, who boldly set themselves against the prevailing laxity of doctrine and practice. At the head of this party stood the deacon Ariald, a man well versed in theology and in the literature of his time, who with much fire and eloquence, though, it would appear, with indecent boldness, was wont to harangue in public against the dissolute and irregular manners of his clerical brethren. These naturally sought to silence an orator so obnoxious, by all means in their power; but Ariald was supported by Landulf, an ecclesiastic of powerful connexions in the place, who participated in his sentiments<sup>2</sup>, and was thus enabled to persevere in his

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 806.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo—Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan. l. iii. c. viii.—Landulph. senior. Mediol. Hist. l. iii. c. iv.



attacks. And as the crime of simony, as well as the practice, reputed criminal, of clerical marriage was notoriously prevalent in the Lombard capital<sup>1</sup>, the objects of Ariald's invectives were unable to reply to them. The feeling, too, which ever disposes a populace to listen with avidity to charges against their spiritual rulers, was an aid, it seems, of which Ariald did not fail to avail himself. Inflamed by his discourses, the people learned to treat their prelate and his clergy with open manifestations of contempt; they reviled them in the house of God itself, and hooted them along the streets.

Unable, of themselves, to devise a remedy for this menacing state of things, the Milanese clergy applied for advice to Stephen IX., and, by his recommendation, founded, it is probable, upon an imperfect acquaintance with the circumstances, their archbishop, Guido,—a prelate so deeply polluted with the corruption of the times, that he is said to have invariably demanded a price for the favour of admission into holy orders,—convened a council at Fontaeto<sup>2</sup>, before which Ariald and his friend Landulf were summoned to appear. But, anticipating the verdict of an assembly convened under such auspices, they paid no attention to the sum-

<sup>1</sup> See with regard to simony, Glaber Rodulph. v. c. 5. Vid. Bonizo, p. 799. With regard to marriage, it was maintained by the Milanese clergy that St. Ambrose had given to members of the body the permission to marry once with a virgin. Vid. Joannis Petri Puricelli Dissertatio utrum S. Ambros. clero suo Mediolan. permit sit ut virgini nubere semel posset, ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Scriptt. t. iv. p. 121. The really ancient custom of Milan was, it would seem, the same with that of the Greek Church, "ut liceat uti uxore ante ordinem ductâ."

<sup>2</sup> Arnulph. Hist. Mediolan. l. iii. c. xi.



mons, and were consequently, by the archbishop and his assessors, declared excommunicate.

Ariald, upon this, proceeded with all speed to Rome<sup>1</sup>, and laid his own statement of the case before Stephen, who, having thus a more complete view of it than he had derived from the garbled representations of the licentious clergy, declared the sentence null; and felt the necessity of interfering, with the full weight of the pontifical power, to correct the vices, and repress the disorders, of the Church of Lombardy.

But this task, through the early death of Stephen, devolved upon his successor, to whom it presented itself, fraught with much additional difficulty, in consequence of the long vacancy of the papal see. Nicholas, however, resolutely undertook it. Peter Damiani, whose indignation the excesses of the Lombard clergy had kindled to the highest degree, was charged with the commission of asserting the papal authority in Milan; Anselm da Badagio, bishop of Lucca, a man of an amiable but less energetic character, being associated with him in the legation<sup>2</sup>. Making their appearance in the long-disturbed city, these envoys found the archbishop and his clergy, however hostile in secret to their coming, prepared to acknowledge their authority, and to receive them with every outward mark and sign of deference. But the populace, moved perhaps by the secret instigations of their pastors, soon showed,—disposed as they might be themselves to ridicule or revile these careless guides,—that they were keenly jealous of the assumed independence of their native Church, and viewed with suspicion any papal interference with the

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph.

<sup>2</sup> Cantel. Metrop. urb. Inst. pt. i. diss. i.

proceedings of its governors. In tumultuous throngs they filled the streets, and entered the building in which the legates had convened the clerical body of the place. And their wrath was greatly increased, when they there beheld Damiani, as chief legate, after himself assuming the principal seat of honour, place his colleague Anselm on his right, and their archbishop Guido on his left<sup>1</sup>. Loud murmurs filled the place at this seeming slight to their pastor; murmurs which that prelate artfully contrived to augment, by saying, with apparent humility, that he was in no way offended by this arrangement,—but that he would sit, if commanded by the legates so to do, on a stool<sup>2</sup> before their feet. The discontent at length broke out into open tumult,—the populace uttered wild cries of vengeance against the presumptuous legate, who had dared thus to insult the successor of St. Ambrose:—the clergy, eager to augment the fray, rang the alarm-bell in the various churches of the city;—the confusion increased,—and even the life of Damiani was apparently in danger<sup>3</sup>. But that bold and high-spirited man was equal to the crisis; ascending a pulpit, he showed himself prepared to address the tumultuous multitude. His dauntless bearing awed them to silence, and he was heard with attention while, with dignity, and with all the eloquence which distinguished him, he set forth the claims which the mother Church of Rome possessed on the dutiful obedience of her daughter, the Church of Milan. He cited instances in which St. Ambrose himself had appealed to the protection of the Roman prelate, and acknowledged his pre-eminence,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Damiani Act. Mediolanens. Opuscul. v.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Intentabant mihi, ut ita loquar, omnia mortem, et, ut ab amicis meis sæpe suggestum est, nonnulli meum sanguinem sitiabant. Ibid,

“Search,” he concluded, “your own records, and if ye find not there that what we say is the truth, expose our falsehood. But if ye find us true, resist not the truth, resist not undutifully the voice of your mother ; but from her from whom ye first drew in the milk of apostolic faith, receive with gratitude the more solid meat of heavenly doctrine.”

This appeal, and the legate’s fearless demeanour, produced a sudden turn in the feelings of his hearers. The archbishop, too, felt it necessary now to rise, and to request his people, to suffer the skilful physician who had just addressed them, to do his best toward healing their spiritual sickness. The populace retired, soothed and tranquil, and the clergy offered no further opposition to the legatine authority. On Peter’s demand, their whole body, with the archbishop at their head, agreed to pledge themselves by a solemn vow against simony and clerical marriage. Ariald took the oath among them ; and Peter, thus successful in his mission, pronounced in his official character the reconciliation of Milan to the apostolic see <sup>1</sup>.

Before a council holden, about this time, by Nicholas, at Rome, appeared an embassy from our English sovereign, Edward the Confessor, charged with the commission to obtain the pope’s approval of the new arrangements, with regard to the tribute to the holy see, which the monarch had introduced into his dominions, and a confirmation, by the same authority, of the exemptions and privileges which Edward had requested for his restored and beautified abbey of Westminster<sup>2</sup>. The embassy consisted of Aldred, arch-

<sup>1</sup> Act. Mediolanens. ut supra.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Chart. III. Regis Edwardi Confessoris Ecclesiæ Sti Petri Westmonast. confect. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1153.



bishop of York, of the bishops of Wells and Hereford, and of Tosti, earl of Northumberland. Aldred, in addition to the other objects of the mission, had undertaken the journey for the purpose of obtaining from Nicholas the pall, or vestment of archiepiscopal dignity, which could, according to the usage of the times, be conferred by the pope alone. But this, Nicholas, in the present instance, declined to confer. He had, it seems, various causes of complaint against the archbishop; one of which was, that Aldred, though called on to do so, refused to resign his former bishopric of Worcester. And the discussion of these matters, so irritated Aldred and his companion, the Earl Tosti, that they left Rome suddenly, with the threat, that no more English tribute should ever reach the apostolic threshold. An accident, however, brought about a speedy accommodation of this quarrel. On their return, these travellers, being attacked and despoiled by the followers of the rapacious Count of Galeria, one of the nobles, whose strong-holds the Normans had destroyed<sup>1</sup>, were driven back, stripped of all but their garments, to Rome. Nicholas, as might have been expected, received them with all kindness and hospitality, supplied their necessities, and put them in a condition to recommence their journey; excommunicating, at the same time, the profligate noble who had been the cause of their misfortune. And the discussion, resumed, under these circumstances, on a more friendly footing, was soon brought to a satisfactory termination. Aldred, promising to resign his former see, was regularly invested with the pall, and then, the other objects

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Damiani Disceptat. in Concil. Osbor. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1133.

of the mission having been accomplished, returned with his companions to England<sup>1</sup>.

Notwithstanding the homage paid to Henry's name in the late decree relating to papal elections, the imperial court was naturally startled by the general tenor of its enactments. And the measure became doubly suspicious to Agnes and to her advisers, when viewed in connexion with the line of policy adopted by Nicholas, in his renewal of the alliance with the Normans. Her first impulse was to declare the decree irregular, and to demand its formal abrogation. But, surrounded as the empress was with difficulties, she was not able to give to any of her measures the character of promptitude; and when, in 1060, a council of the empire had been summoned at Worms, probably for the purpose of carrying the above resolution into effect, the general prevalence of an epidemic disease in Germany compelled her to postpone its meeting<sup>2</sup>. And before any subsequent steps of a definite character could be taken by her, a new importance was given to the question, by the death of Nicholas, who expired, at Florence, on the 22d of July 1061<sup>3</sup>; leaving behind him the elements of a struggle, between the court and the Church, more obstinate than any which the times, as yet, had witnessed.

<sup>1</sup> Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis Pontiff. p. 153, edit. Savil. Sed vide vitam S. Wulstani, ejusdem auctoris, ap. Mabillon. Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedict. Sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. 828, et Pagi, in Baron. ad an. 1059.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> F. Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 541.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1061 TO A. D. 1062.

VIEWS OF OPPOSITE PARTIES—TITLE OF PATRICIAN OFFERED TO HENRY IV. BY THE ROMAN NOBLES—MISSION OF THE CARDINAL STEPHEN TO THE EMPRESS—HIS TREATMENT—ELECTION, AT ROME, OF ALEXANDER II., AND AT BASIL, OF THE ANTIPOPE CADALOUS—EPISTLE OF DAMIANI TO THE LATTER—MARCH OF CADALOUS TOWARD ROME—BENZO'S MISSION THITHER—BATTLE NEAR THAT CITY—INTERFERENCE OF GODFREY OF LORRAINE—RETIREMENT OF BOTH COMPETITORS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE DIOCESES—DISCONTENTS OF THE GERMAN NOBLES—ABDUCTION OF HENRY IV. FROM HIS MOTHER—ADMINISTRATION OF ARCHBISHOP HANNO—DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF OSBOR AGAINST THE PRETENSIONS OF CADALOUS.

IN their connexion with the Normans, Hildebrand and his friends had a support which formed a considerable counterpoise to the disfavour of the court. Godfrey too, reconciled as he was in appearance to his sovereign, was supposed still to remember his old injuries, and to be by no means favourable to the extension of imperial influence in Italy. Those, therefore, by whose counsels the decree of Nicholas, relative to elections, had been framed, now felt themselves strong enough to carry it into execution, and to select a successor to the deceased pontiff by the deliberation of the college of cardinals. They were prepared, according to the tenor of the same decree, to act in some measure under the sanction and authority of the imperial name; but they were by no means disposed to accept a mere nominee of Agnes or of her advisers. But the empress, as we have seen, was not prepared to be content with this qualified homage to the sovereign authority. And



her inclination to maintain the fulness of imperial privilege, was strengthened by her knowledge of the force, moral and physical, which was ready in many quarters to array itself on her side. Guibert, her chancellor in Italy, formed the secret centre of a powerful party spread throughout that country, whose movements were more openly directed by the cardinal presbyter, Hugo Candidus. This person, a countryman of Leo IX., had been promoted by that pontiff to his station in the Roman Church<sup>1</sup>. With great abilities, he possessed yet greater ambition; and finding, that in a party controlled, as was that of the papalists, by Hildebrand, he could attain but a secondary rank, he had transferred his services to the side of the upholders of the imperial prerogative. And of these he soon became the ostensible head<sup>2</sup>, though the talents and station of Guibert always preserved to him, in reality, the paramount authority.

In Rome itself, a party had always existed who were friendly to the unrestricted power of the crown—a numerous body, too, of ecclesiastics, had been startled by the increasing weight and influence of a party, so strict and uncompromising in their reforms, as was that of Hildebrand and Peter Damiani; and found, in the turbulent and licentious spirits with whom the city abounded, ready and willing allies in the cause of continued laxity. One of these latter, who bore the name of Cencius,—being offended, that the office of prefect, which had been filled by his father, had not been, on that father's death, bestowed upon himself,—occupied, with his licentious retainers, the strong-hold, well known as the castle of St. Angelo; and thence subjected the Roman citizens to systematic plunder, de-

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 803.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 807.

manding a toll from all who crossed the neighbouring bridge over the Tiber. And so feeble, even in its own city, were the hands of the papal government, that Nicholas was forced to submit to the affront; and to content himself with pronouncing against the offender the censures of the Church.

The Campanian nobles, still resentful at the affront which had been inflicted on them by the Norman sword, were eager, by the aid of the imperial power, to humble the obnoxious party, which had so signally revenged itself upon them. The excommunicate count of Gale-ria set out, in the name of his order, and of the Roman people in general, for Germany<sup>1</sup>; and laying before the king the golden circlet and other ensigns of the patrician dignity, besought him to vindicate for himself the power and privileges of his ancestors. The bishops, meanwhile, of Lombardy, rejoicing in their liberation from the yoke which Nicholas had imposed upon them, met in council, and resolved to acknowledge, as pope, none but a Lombard, on whom they might depend to sanction or connive at the irregularities in which they continued to indulge. And the notification of this determination to Agnes sufficiently showed her, that by appointing a pontiff from the district in question, she might secure the co-operation of the Church of northern Italy, on his behalf, in opposition to the ecclesiastics of Rome, and in contravention of the decree of Nicholas. The empress could also reckon, in the event of a struggle, on the moral power of precedent;—on the historical associations which gave to the sovereign, in the eyes of the existing generation, a

<sup>1</sup> Damiani disceptat. synodal. Opusc. iv.—Berthold. Constant. ad an. 1061.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 807.



prescriptive right to the supreme control in papal elections;—as well as on that aversion to the exercise of independent power by the Church's governors, in virtue of their station in the Christian theocracy, which is but too natural, in all ages, to the human heart. Her party, so to call it, was therefore far more numerous than that which acted, at the present crisis, in support of Hildebrand and his coadjutors. The latter, however, possessed the countervailing advantage of being keener in the cause, better organized, and more united. The imperialists acted as the defenders of things existing, and such are rarely found to contend with the zeal which characterizes assailants. Their numbers, too, were composed of masses really hostile to each other's interests, however conjoined for the moment. And they were far less aware than their opponents, of the real importance of the question now to be tried: they fought, as the struggle developed itself, for the immediate recognition of an individual pope; the papalists, for the permanent establishment of an ecclesiastical principle.

The first step taken by Hildebrand and his party, on the death of Nicholas, was the mission of the presbyter Stephen, a respected member of the college of cardinals, to the imperial court, for the purpose of sounding the intentions of the empress, and of procuring, if possible, her acquiescence in their projected course. But Agnes, when Stephen arrived, had already decided on an opposite line of conduct; and the ecclesiastical envoy was refused admittance to her presence. He remained five days in her court, imploring this favour in vain<sup>1</sup>; and then felt it his duty to return to the papal city with the tidings of his failure; when Hildebrand and his

<sup>1</sup> Damiani *disceptatio synodalis*. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1130.



friends perceived that all hope of compromise was at an end. The contempt with which their envoy had been treated created a strong feeling in the breasts of the Roman clergy, and strengthened the minds of the irresolute among them for a decisive measure. The more determined availed themselves of the advantage, and summoned the college of cardinals, for the election of a pope, on the 1st Oct. 1061<sup>1</sup>. The privileges, whatever they were intended to be, which the decree of Nicholas had recognized in the youthful Henry, were tacitly waived; in all other respects, the proceedings were conducted in strict conformity to the provisions of that enactment; and the choice of the assembly fell upon Anselm da Badagio, who has been already mentioned as Damiani's colleague in the mission to Milan. Anselm was immediately enthroned in form as Alexander II.<sup>2</sup>; and one of his first acts was the nomination of Hildebrand to be chancellor of the apostolic see.

Agnes had, in the mean time, summoned the prelates and nobles of her empire to a council, to be holden at Basil, on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude (Oct. 28<sup>3</sup>). By that day, intelligence had arrived of Alexander's election, and the whole court was indignant at this supposed rebellious transaction. It was, of course, unanimously voted null; and the meeting, at the suggestion of Guibert, proceeded to elect to the seat of St. Peter, Cadalous, bishop of Parma<sup>4</sup>. This nominee is described, by his opponents, the papal writers, as a man

<sup>1</sup> Damiani disceptat.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. III. xxi. For the imperialist version of this transaction, see Benzo, panegyric. in Henric. III. (IV.) Imp. lib. vii. c. 2, in Menckenii Scriptt. t. i. p. 1063.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1117.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Ost. III. xxi.—Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Sigeb. Gembl.

of depraved manners and profligate character<sup>1</sup>; and, though we must make great allowance for the hasty expressions of irritated partisans, it must be recollected, that the step taken by the Lombard clergy almost compelled the empress to fix her choice upon a prelate acceptable to the lax and simoniacal party in the Church<sup>2</sup>; though it is not probable that she would select any whose reputation had been publicly blasted. Cadalous does not seem to have possessed any remarkable abilities; and this circumstance was not, perhaps, forgotten by Guibert when he suggested the name of that prelate to his imperial mistress. The crafty chancellor, in all probability, wanted a pope who should be the tool of his party, and not its leader. And most unfortunate was it for the amiable and well-meaning princess who held the reins of empire, that, influenced by advisers and connexions like these, she was induced to amalgamate the cause of her son with that of one unfitted by personal qualifications for the papal office, and at the same time pledged to degrade that office by exerting its influence in support of lawlessness and corruption.

The Roman party, though they must have expected some such step on the part of Agnes as the election at Basil, were particularly indignant when informed of the object of her choice. Peter Damiani poured forth the ardour of his soul in an epistle to the pretender, written in the moment in which he received intelligence of his

<sup>1</sup> Card. de Aragon.—Virum divitiis locupletem, virtutibus egenum. Bonizo.

<sup>2</sup> Clerici uxorati . . . qui hactenus dicti sunt Nicolaitæ, amodo vocentur et Cadaloitæ. Sperant enim quia si Cadalous, qui ad hoc gehennaliter æstuat, universali Ecclesiæ Antichristi vice præederit, ad eorum votum, luxuriæ fræna laxabit.—Damian. Opusc. xviii. Diss. 2. c. 8.

uncanonical election. He entreated him, he adjured him, to return to the paths of duty and of obedience. He besought him, instead of heading a schism himself, to join his efforts to those of true Churchmen for the preservation of unity in the Church. Breaking forth into verse, he deplored the evils of the time, and the degradation of the holy apostolic see<sup>1</sup>. And then, venturing to assume the tone of a prophet, and calling the special notice of Cadalous to the prediction, he declared to him, in the following terms, that his death would occur in the course of a year :—

Fumea vita volat, mors improvisa propinquat.  
Imminet expleti præpes tibi terminus ævi.  
Non ego te fallo : cæpto morieris in anno <sup>2</sup>.

Anxious as many in and near Rome must have been for the expulsion of Alexander, and the introduction, into the papal city, of the imperial nominee, the empress found it impracticable to take, at the moment, any overt measures in furtherance of their wishes. Her own difficulties in Germany have been already adverted to. The necessity of military preparation retarded the journey of Cadalous to Rome; who feared, besides, the mountain-passes of Godfrey's territory, aware that the Tuscan prince was inclined to favour his rival<sup>3</sup>. And the turbulent spirits of Rome itself were kept in check by their constant terror of the Norman sword. Alexander continued, therefore, for some months in Rome, unopposed in any formal or effective way, however frequent

<sup>1</sup> Heu sedes apostolica,  
Orbis olim gloria,  
Nunc, proh dolor, efficeris  
Officina Simonis,  
&c. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Damiani, lib. i. ep. xx.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, lib. ii. c. i.



were the agitations and menacing the troubles by which, in that unsettled time, the city was convulsed.

But in the spring of 1062, the Lombard bishop, at the head of a considerable force, and amply provided with treasure for the purpose of corrupting the adherents of his rival<sup>1</sup>, set forward for the city of St. Peter. The prelates of northern Italy, as he moved along, joined him with reinforcements, or received him with demonstrations of joy and triumph<sup>2</sup>; and on the feast of the Annunciation, he arrived at Sutri<sup>3</sup>. Alexander, aware of his approach, made such preparations, as his means admitted of, for defending the papal city. Men gazed, with anxious expectation, on the anticipated spectacle of a war carried on between those who had forsworn war, and for the possession of the seat of peace. And it seems that, impressed with the horror of the time, they were ready,—in the disturbed state of nature,—in an earthquake and thunder-storm in February,—in a season of unusual scarcity—and in the prevalence of epidemic disease and mortality, by which these visitations were attended<sup>4</sup>—to trace a mysterious sympathy of the inanimate creation with the troubled elements of the moral world.

To prepare his way in Rome, Cadalous had sent thither his able, but unprincipled, adherent, Benzo bishop of Alba, to sound the disposition of the Romans, and, if possible, to prevail on them to throw open their gates for the reception of the imperialist pontiff. Benzo executed his task with skill. Received by the populace

<sup>1</sup> Portans secum ingentia auri atque argenti pondera. Bonizo, p. 807.

<sup>2</sup> Tunc Symoniaci lætabantur ; concubinati verò sacerdotes ingenti exultabant tripudio. Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, lib. ii. c. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Herman. Contract. Continuat.—Berthold. Constant.

with favour, and admitted into the palace of Octavian on the Palatine hill, he during several days carried on negociations with the chiefs of the imperial party<sup>1</sup>; by lavish presents, and yet more lavish promises, he swelled the number of their adherents; and at length, summoning the populace together in some arena or open space, near the palace, he harangued them at length<sup>2</sup>; and officially promulgating among them the imperial commands, he called on them to reverence the expression of the sovereign's will, and receive the pontiff who had been chosen for them. Alexander appeared on horseback at the place of meeting, attended by a numerous train<sup>3</sup>. But he and his friends made no attempt,—they were, perhaps, too weak,—to stop the proceedings; and he contented himself with replying, to Benzo's charge of perjury and rebellion, that he was not unmindful of his obligations to his sovereign, in simple duty to whom it was, that he had done what he had done, and what a legate, despatched to the imperial court for the purpose, should explain. And then, turning his horse, he rode away, amid the ridicule and revilings of the multitude<sup>4</sup>.

His party, nevertheless, maintained the upper hand in Rome, though the tower of Cencius, and several other strong posts and points in the city, were occupied by the friends of his opponent. A respectable force

<sup>1</sup> Per singulas dies peroravi causam pueri regis, domini mei.—Benzo, lib. ii. c. i.

<sup>2</sup> Ad quoddam hypodromium.—Benzo, l. ii. c. ii. Qu. the Coliseum?

<sup>3</sup> Affuit ex alterâ parte hæreticus ille Lucensis, imo Lutulensis, cum suis glandariciis, cujus deterrima imago erat similis spiritibus horrificis. Ubi vero apparuit, velut infernalis umbra, ejus formidabilis vultus, murmur multum fit in populo, oriturque perstreps tumultus.—Benzo, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Tunc universus populus universaliter cœpit clamare, Vade leprose! discede leprose!—Benzo, l. c.

had been collected in Alexander's support; and though the main body of the Normans was now engaged in another direction, he had doubtless the aid of some valuable auxiliaries from their territory. He looked, too, with confident hope for aid from Godfrey of Tuscany. That prince, though he had not openly declared himself in favour of either party, was known to watch with jealousy the proceedings of the imperial nominee, and had no sooner heard of the march of Cadalous, than he set out himself for Rome, accompanied by his wife Beatrice and his step-daughter Matilda, and attended by a considerable body of his military followers.

Such was the state of things when Cadalous, on the 14th of April 1062, appeared in person before the walls of Rome<sup>1</sup>. The gates had been closed against him; but Alexander, after what had passed, naturally feared that they would be thrown open by the disaffected within, on the moment of his attack, and therefore deemed it advisable that the intruder should at once be brought to action by his soldiery. A sally was consequently made, while Cadalous was encamped in the meadow of Nero<sup>2</sup>. And between his camp and the gates, occurred a bloody skirmish, of which the issue for some little time was doubtful; but the partizans of Alexander began at length to give ground, and were driven by the enemy once more within the walls of the papal city<sup>3</sup>. Within those walls, however, Alexander yet maintained himself; the fear perhaps of Godfrey, who was now at hand, prevented Cadalous from pushing forward to the completion of his triumph, and at the same time operated in repressing the movements of the intruder's friends within the city. But

<sup>1</sup> Baronius, ex veteri codice in Vaticano.

<sup>2</sup> In prato Neronis. Card. Aragon.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, l. ii. c. ix.



the triumph of Cadalous still appeared but deferred. Crossing the Tiber, he put himself in closer communication with the leading nobles who favoured his pretensions; and received, in his camp at Tusculum, the envoys of the Greek emperor, who acknowledged him as pope, and proposed an alliance against the Normans, the common enemy<sup>1</sup>. This last transaction, however, by exciting Godfrey's jealousy, seems to have been the immediate cause of his, at length, declaring himself hostile to the violent measures of the intruder<sup>2</sup>; against whom he immediately advanced, and who, unable to resist the number and prowess of his soldiers, found himself entirely at his mercy. The partizans of Alexander were freed at once from their fears, and trusting to the professions repeatedly made to them by the Tuscan duke, doubted not, that he would now, by making himself master of the person of the pretender, end at once the unnatural struggle. But his own interest, and not the welfare of the Church, was the mainspring of the wily Godfrey's policy. He showed himself so far hostile to Cadalous, as to extort from the unhappy man the treasure which he had with him, as the price of his liberation<sup>3</sup>; but it did not suit the captor's policy to give to the opposite party a triumph as complete as they had, from his intervention, anticipated<sup>4</sup>. He, therefore, assuming the office of arbitrator between the two parties, announced it to be his will that all hostilities between them should cease; that Cadalous should forthwith return to his diocese of Parma, but that Alexander should also absent himself for the present from the papal city, and return to his former residence at Lucca; that he would himself undertake to bring the case, in all its bearings, under

<sup>1</sup> Benzo, l. ii. c. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Id. c. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.—Bonizo.—Card. Aragon.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Ostiens.—Card. Aragon.

the consideration of the imperial court; and that by the decision of that court, thus taken, all parties should definitively abide<sup>1</sup>.

Cadalous, impotent to resist this self-appointed arbitrator, had no resource but to acquiesce in his decision; and departed for Parma in a manner which formed a humiliating contrast to his triumphal approach to the papal city<sup>2</sup>. Nor had Alexander any other alternative than the adoption of a similar course; he set out, therefore, for Lucca. Godfrey still comported himself as his friend, and promised to exert all his influence in procuring, if possible, from the empress, the repudiation of Cadalous, and a sanction to the act of the Roman electors. And with this prospect the party of Hildebrand was forced to content itself; though its chief, and the more thoughtful among its members, doubtless felt that, in so acting, they were abandoning in some measure the high ground which they had at first taken,—the ground of principle,—and treating the question in dispute as though it were one within the proper sphere of secular policy—of mere expediency—of royal or aristocratical caprice. As such, Godfrey, perhaps, had from the first considered it; his friendship for the Roman Church, as far as it was sincere, being in all probability like that of many princes and nobles of decent repute, by whom the Church in different realms and ages has been defended with more of activity than of knowledge respecting her real character and pretensions.

Such friendship has too often proved ruinous where it was intended to be beneficial; its scope embraces but the present hour, and for the removal of a momentary evil it has been too often found to trample down

<sup>1</sup> Benzo, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 807.



the most sacred barriers, or to compromise principles of the most unspeakable importance to the destinies of future generations.

There was, however, no remedy. Many of those whose votes had elevated Alexander to the papal throne were but too thankful that, in their deliverance from the hostile entry of Cadalous, was involved their rescue from the position, which they had been led to assume, of open resistance to the imperial will; and looked forward with joy, through Godfrey's intervention, to some amicable arrangement or compromise which would restore immediate tranquillity to their Church and city.

And the few higher and more intrepid spirits, who felt that peace itself would be bought too dearly, if obtained by the barter of principle, were consequently compelled to look with patience to the turn which events might take. No positive step was, fortunately, required from them, which would have implied a renunciation of the line of conduct which they had adopted. The retirement of Alexander from Rome was a necessity imposed on him by circumstances which he had no power to resist. He still maintained his pretensions, used his papal title, and exerted such authority in Rome as his means admitted of: nor was any rival forced into St. Peter's chair in his place. Their immediate duty, therefore, was "to stand and wait;" prepared to shape their subsequent course according to the yet uncertain exigencies of the future.

Cadalous, in the meanwhile, or as he now styled himself, Honorius II., frustrated as he had been, trusted his cause to the undiminished favour of the Empress, and to the continued support of his Lombard brethren; and confidently reckoned on eventual success. Antici-



pating a speedy verdict of the imperial council in his favour,—a verdict which Godfrey, he flattered himself, would not venture to disobey,—he made all preparations for an immediate enforcement of the expected sentence, by collecting men and money for a second expedition to the banks of the Tiber.

But an event was now about to happen in Germany which was to produce a sudden revolution in the aspect of affairs; and to confound alike the expectations of both contending parties. It was, as the reader is aware, with some indignation that the haughty nobles of the Teutonic realm had beheld the subjection of their country to female sway; a circumstance to which they subsequently attributed every evil which afflicted their land at home, and every disaster which befel their army abroad. The Bavarians, whose duchy, with the view of strengthening the regal authority, Agnes had kept in her own hands, and whom she had sent, under able leaders, on an expedition into Hungary, were compelled to return in discomfiture; and, with murmurs, attributed their failure to the fact, that they had not a duke of their own to lead them into the field. Agnes heard the complaint, and bestowed the fief of Bavaria on Otho of Nordheim<sup>1</sup>; endeavouring, on this, as on all other practicable occasions, to meet murmurs and discontent by gentleness and conciliation. But such policy, though imposed on her by the exigencies of her position, was not suited to her empire or to her times. Her motives were misconstrued, and her kindness was abused. Forced to lean for aid upon some one principal adviser among the prelates and peers who surrounded her, she placed her confidence

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. ad an. 1061.

in the Bishop of Augsburg; whose consequent ascendancy in her court, watched as it was with jealous eyes by others of like rank, was taken up by them as a new grievance, and made to serve as the foundation of rumours most calumnious, and most inconsistent with the real purity of her character<sup>1</sup>. The malcontents affected to lament the condition of their youthful sovereign, who was brought up under such auspices. Henry had now attained his twelfth year; and yet, they said, he was educated beside the distaff, secluded from all manly pursuits and manly business. Foremost among the murmurers were Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, and Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz; both, probably, indignant at seeing an influence superior to their own, enjoyed by a prelate of inferior dignity. These conferred with Count Ecbert, the king's cousin, on the necessity of finding some remedy for the existing grievances; and the Count readily expressed his concurrence in their sentiments. Nor was Otho, the new Duke of Bavaria, found reluctant, for the sake of humbling the obnoxious bishop, to conspire against the authority of her who had recently honoured him with such a distinguished mark of her favour<sup>2</sup>. The tenure by which Agnes held the reins of power was simply the guardianship and tutelage of her son; in whose name the government had in point of form been carried on from the period of his father's death. The conspirators resolved, therefore, by a bold stroke, to make themselves masters of the youthful Henry's person, and with that, of the substantial power of the state.

The king, it was known, was to proceed along the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Annalista Saxo.



Rhine, with his mother and court, on his way to keep the approaching feast of Pentecost, 1062, at Nimeguen. In anticipation of this journey, Hanno prepared a vessel which, while well adapted for speed, was most magnificently adorned with gilding, with carved work, with tapestry,—with all, in short, which could dazzle or attract the eye of a beholder. And it was contrived that, while Henry was reposing, with his court, in a spot which was then an island in the Rhine, dedicated to St. Suitbert<sup>1</sup>,—but which now, the river having altered its course, forms the site of the town of Kaiserswerth,—the bark should be brought to the shore. At the royal table, amid the gaiety of a sumptuous banquet, the archbishop, casually as it were, alluded to the magnificence of this extraordinary galley, and so excited the curiosity of the youthful sovereign that he determined on immediately inspecting it. He proceeded, therefore, accompanied by Hanno and the other confederates, to the place where it lay; but scarcely had he stepped on board, when strong and active rowers, who had been selected and instructed for the purpose, sprang to their benches and rowed against the stream toward Cologne, with a rapidity which prevented the possibility of successful pursuit<sup>2</sup>. The king was, for a few moments, lulled by the false excuses of the confederates, and imagined that the scheme was a matter of sport; but soon perceiving that they were earnest in the purpose of carrying him away, he imagined that they intended his destruction; and as his only chance of escape, he leaped into the Rhine, and disappeared for a moment beneath its waters. The intrepid Count Ecbert, however, plunged in after him; and soon

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.



brought him back to the vessel. And now, soothed by the solemn assurances of his captors that no mischief was intended him, and aware of the inutility of any further attempt to escape, Henry submitted silently to his fate, and was borne with all speed to Cologne; while the cries and execrations of the indignant people resounded along the shore<sup>1</sup>.

Arrived at the city, Hanno found it necessary, in order to allay the general ferment, to declare, that his only object had been the promotion of the public welfare;—that he had no wish to assume to himself the exclusive guardianship of the young sovereign;—but that Henry, put under the general charge of the episcopal order, should thenceforward be assisted in the affairs of government by the prelate, in whose diocese he might happen at any time to be. This pledge, together with the personal authority of the confederates, sufficed to silence all immediate opposition; and the unhappy Agnes beheld the revolution successfully accomplished, which robbed her at once of her sceptre, and of her child. In the first bitterness of her bereavement, she entertained the thought of exchanging the cares of the world for a life of devotional retirement; but her counsellors persuaded her to postpone for a while the execution of the project, and to await in quietness the probable change of fortune in her favour<sup>2</sup>.

Godfrey had now crossed the Alps, and, even if not implicated, as some accounts would lead us to suppose, in the conspiracy itself, became, at least, a ready and active party to the league of the confederates, subsequently to its accomplishment. And Hanno, swayed either by the influence of that powerful coadjutor,—by

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

his own predilection,—or by a general desire to oppose in every thing the policy of the imperial Agnes and her favourite prelate,—prepared to abandon the party of Cadalous, as speedily as he could do so without exposing to the charge of vacillation the councils of the sovereign. Peter Damiani, whom the partisans of Alexander sent, as their representative, into Germany, was, therefore, favourably received. And a council was summoned, to be holden at a place styled, by Damiani, *Osbor*<sup>1</sup>, probably Augsburg, for the avowed purpose of inquiring into the real merits of the case, and of pronouncing a final decision on the claims of the contending prelates. Before this assembly was read a document, composed by Damiani for the purpose, and drawn up in the form of a conversation or discussion, between an advocate of the royal rights, and a defender of the Roman Church; by which the writer endeavoured to show, that, in the election of Alexander, nothing had taken place which was not, under the circumstances, justifiable, and even canonical. The composition is curious, as containing the most systematic statement, which has come down to us, of the line of argument then adopted by the papal party of the time. They attempted not to deny the monarch's general right of interference with papal elections; a right which the decree of Nicholas had so recently recognized. But it was maintained, that that right, while Henry was under age, was in great measure in abeyance; and that, with regard to things spiritual, the Church, as the mother who had given the king his second and heavenly birth, was a fitter guardian and directress, than the parent

<sup>1</sup> Harduin, t. vi. pt. i. p. 1119.—Damiani *disceptat. synodal. Opuscul. iv.*



from whom he had merely derived an earthly existence. The conduct of the court in refusing admittance to Stephen,—the representative of the Roman clergy,—was cited as having demonstrated the determination of the royal counsellors to admit of no fair and canonical election, and as having driven the Romans to proceed in the business without the imperial sanction, as the only means of preserving, from the evil influences which surrounded it, the dignity of the crown. In a discussion penned by Damiani, it may be easily imagined to which side victory would be made to incline. One by one, the royal advocate withdrew his objections; and the triumphant defender of the Church,—after giving thanks to Him who, if He had permitted the bark of Peter to be shaken by the storms, and tossed by the waves, had subsequently stretched out His hand to the apostle, raised him up, and imposed a stillness on the wind and sea,—concluded with the wish, that the pontificate and the Roman empire might continue thenceforward in unbroken alliance; that the two heads of the world might be so united in perpetual charity, as to excite no disunion among its inferior members; and that the kingdom and the priesthood,—each of which had been made, by the one Mediator between God and man, a sacrament of things unseen,—might be so knit together in the bond of love, that a king should thenceforward be recognized in the pontiff, and a pontiff in the king.

The council listened to Damiani's composition with approval, and then hesitated not to pronounce the verdict, which it had, in truth, been assembled to give. The election of Alexander was declared legitimate, that of Cadalous null; and to Godfrey, together with Hanno's nephew Burchard, bishop of Halberstadt, was



entrusted the duty of leading back the rightful pope to Rome, and securing to him the peaceable possession of the throne of St. Peter.

The decree of Osbor was adopted on the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, 1062<sup>1</sup>. On the feast of the same apostles, the year before, had occurred the irregular election of Cadalous at Basil<sup>2</sup>; and Damiani, who had probably begun to feel rather anxious with respect to the fulfilment of the prophecy on which he had ventured in the preceding year, availed himself of this coincidence to declare, that he had intended to predict, not the natural death of Cadalous, but that moral death, which he might be said to suffer, when thus publicly condemned and deprived of the character which he had assumed. But, notwithstanding Damiani's great and deserved reputation, it does not appear that this ingenious exposition was considered as in all respects satisfactory, or that it sufficed to shield him, or his presumptuous prediction, from the taunting jests of his opponents<sup>3</sup>.

Humbled as Cadalous was, he was not deprived of the hope of eventual success. Throughout Italy his party was numerous and active<sup>4</sup>. The preponderance of Alexander's party, in inspiring the Lombard clergy with new fears, stimulated them to new exertions. The character, too, of Godfrey,—actuated as he evidently was by policy, rather than principle, in the line which he had adopted,—was such, that the party whom he opposed might reasonably hope, by availing themselves of some favourable conjuncture, to draw him again to their side.

<sup>1</sup> Damian. Opusc. xviii. Diss. 2, c. 8. Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Damian. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Tunc quippe mortuus est in honore, cum honoris synodalis iudicio perdidit dignitatem.—Damian. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Nor, in the unsettled condition of Germany, was it very improbable that the supremacy of Hanno might be annihilated as rapidly as it had been created, and the court, in consequence, revert to its former policy. The Pretender, therefore, continued with unabated eagerness his preparations for a prosecution of the struggle.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1062 TO A. D. 1067.

HENRY'S BAD EDUCATION—CONTEST BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF HILDESHEIM AND THE ABBOT OF FULDA—RETURN OF ALEXANDER II. TO ROME—RISE TO POWER OF ADELBERT ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN—HIS INCLINATION TO FAVOUR CADALOUS—MELANCHOLY CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONTINUED STRUGGLE—RETIREMENT OF DAMIANI FROM HIS BISHOPRIC—FALL OF ADELBERT—FLIGHT OF CADALOUS FROM ST. ANGELO—DISTURBANCES AT TREVES—HENRY'S ILLNESS AND MARRIAGE—HANNO'S VISIT TO ITALY—COUNCIL OF MANTUA—RETIREMENT OF AGNES INTO A CONVENT.

THE confederate prelates and princes, who had snatched the young Henry from the hands of his mother, had made it a charge against her, that she was neglecting to prepare her son, by a suitable education, for the high station which he was destined to fill. But, just or otherwise as this accusation, considered in itself, may have been, they soon showed that, in their mouths, it was but a pretence, a specious grievance, brought forward to screen the selfish motives which in reality governed their proceedings. The ambitious feudatories of the crown were, in truth, by no means anxious to hasten the period of Henry's fitness to take upon himself the charge of empire; and preferred a course which promised them a longer career of unrestrained and licentious power. They excluded Henry from all participation in the business of the state; they surrounded



him with their creatures and dependents, and permitted no other person to approach him without their special permission; they encouraged him in an unrestrained indulgence in field-sports, in the pursuit of all youthful pastimes and pleasures; and they neglected not only the inculcation of the elements of necessary knowledge, but also that which is of much greater importance, that moral culture of the mind and principles, which is in truth the one great business of education.

How much of the misfortune and misery of Henry's future life may we not trace to the unprincipled conduct of these evil guardians? Nay, how large a portion of the misery of many succeeding generations may we not ascribe to those, to whom it was owing, that the head of the imperial house, at this critical epoch of the world's history, grew up to man's estate with a mind uncultivated, with passions uncontrolled, and with faculties unstrengthened by discipline to cope with or to master the difficulties which he was doomed to encounter.

But had the prelates, by whom Henry was more especially surrounded, shown much more anxiety than they did for the instruction and moral improvement of their illustrious pupil, their own manners were such as could by no means inspire him with that reverence toward his instructors, without which the principal part of the work of education must ever be attempted in vain. Their rapacity exhibited itself in the shameless way in which they, as if in emulation of each other, extorted from the crown the grant of lands, manors, farms, and forests, to the manifest diminution of the royal dignity; as well as in the unjust annexation of the property of religious communities, which were unable to resist them, to the territory of their sees. Nor in pride,—or in the fierceness with which they

resisted all real or imagined insults,—inconsistent as such qualities are with the sacerdotal character,—were the spiritual fathers of Germany a whit inferior to the imperious secular nobles with whom they associated. At the commencement of vespers, before the king and court at Goslar, at the solemn season of Christmas, 1062, a dispute arose between the servants of the Bishop of Hildesheim and those of the Abbot of Fulda, with regard to the position of the seats of their respective masters<sup>1</sup>. The abbot, by ancient usage, was entitled to sit next to the metropolitan; but the bishop, indignant that any should take this place, within his own diocese, in preference to himself, had commanded his domestics to place the chairs accordingly. The dispute soon led to blows, and, but for the interference of Otho of Bavaria, would have terminated in bloodshed. This noble asserted the rights of the abbot, and the bishop was consequently foiled. He looked forward however to a renewal of the contest under more favourable auspices; and at the feast of Pentecost following, previously to the entrance of the king and the prelates into the Church, he secreted behind the high altar Count Ecbert and some well-armed soldiers<sup>2</sup>. As the contending prelates proceeded to their seats, the affray between the servants began again; when the Count, suddenly springing from his ambush, rushed with his followers upon the astonished men of Fulda, and drove them with blows and menaces from the Church. But they too had made preparations for a violent struggle, and had friends and arms at hand. In a body they rushed once more into the sacred building, and engaged their enemies with swords in the midst of the choir,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



confusedly mingled with the choristers<sup>1</sup>. Fiercely was the combat waged: "throughout the Church," says Lambert of Aschaffenburg, "resounded, instead of hymns and spiritual songs, the shouts of the combatants and the screams of the dying; ill-omened victims were slaughtered upon the altar of God; while through the building ran rivers of blood, poured forth, not by the legal religion of other days, but by the mutual cruelty of enemies." The bishop of Hildesheim, rushing to a pulpit or some other conspicuous position, exhorted his followers, according to the same writer, as with the sound of a trumpet<sup>2</sup>, to perseverance in the fray; and encouraged them by his authority, and by the promise of absolution, to disregard the sanctity of the place. The young monarch called in vain on his subjects to reverence his royal dignity; all ears were deaf to his vociferated commands and entreaties; and, at length, urged by those around him to consult his own safety, he escaped with difficulty from the thickening tumult, and made his way to his palace. The men of Fulda, by the efforts of Count Ecbert, were at length repulsed, and the doors of the Church closed against them; upon which, ranging themselves before the building, they prepared to assail their enemies again as soon as they should issue from it; and there remained until the approach of night induced them to retire<sup>3</sup>.

Such scenes as these were not likely to impress the youthful Henry's mind with exalted ideas either of the purity and spirituality of the Church herself, or of the reverence due to her ministers. Nor, nurtured among

<sup>1</sup> In medio chori psallentiumque fratrum manus conserunt.—Lamb.

<sup>2</sup> Tanquam militari quodam classico.—Lamb.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



those to whom such transactions were familiar, could he easily image to himself a purer state of society, or learn to estimate aright the power of principle over mankind. When, therefore, he came, in after-life, into contact with one by whom that power was asserted in opposition to the kingly name and authority, it need not surprise us to find that he misunderstood his own position, miscalculated the resources of his antagonist, and fell, by consequence, into a series of errors, from which, when he was better informed by experience, it had become impossible for him to extricate himself.

During the progress of these transactions, Alexander II. had been led back by Godfrey, to Rome, where he once more took up his abode, in the month of January, 1063<sup>1</sup>. But the city was still in a very unsatisfactory state. The great fortress of Cencius, which we will henceforward style by its more familiar appellation of St. Angelo, continued in the hands of partizans of Cadalous, who,—possessed of this strong-hold,—maintained a general superiority on the right bank of the Tiber. The empress, still in correspondence with the pretender, urged him to avail himself of this advantage, and to ensure his triumph by speedily appearing among them in person<sup>2</sup>. And this he attempted to do; but the vigilance of Godfrey, who sedulously watched the roads over the Appennines, delayed the accomplishment of the project; and the remainder of the year 1063 passed away, without producing any signal change in the relative positions of the contending parties in Italy<sup>3</sup>.

Circumstances had however, in Germany, undergone

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo.—Benzo. l. ii. c. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Benzo, ii. xvi.

another mutation. Hanno, from the moment in which he obtained possession of the royal person, had been surrounded by difficulties. Violent and unjustifiable as had been the measure by which the youthful Henry was separated from his mother, the archbishop of Cologne was probably influenced in the accomplishment of it by motives more pure, or, at least, less selfish, than were those of his coadjutors. His temper was passionate, and he was deeply infected with the general rapacity of the clerical body in that age; but he at the same time possessed, if we may judge from the representations of contemporary writers, a sincerity of character, which should incline us to believe, that in adopting the line which he did, he was mainly actuated by the desire of promoting the welfare of his country<sup>1</sup>. The deed had, however, no sooner been accomplished, than he found himself hampered on all sides by his more unprincipled confederates, and compelled to shape his course according to the dictates of their rapacious and licentious policy. The young king naturally regarded him with dislike; and unless he could be effectually conciliated, Hanno felt that his power hung by a thread. His ally Siegfried of Mentz, as a participator in the abduction, was as obnoxious to Henry as himself; nor was that prelate,—a man of an ordinary and worldly character,—at all likely, in opposition to such an obstacle, to win his way to favour. Hanno determined, therefore, on associating in the counsels and power of the con-

<sup>1</sup> See below, book iii. cap. viii. One chronicler of the times seems quite at a loss to account for his implication in a deed, so inconsistent with his general character. “Quod ille, quâ intentione fecerit, “vel quoliter divino judicio placuerit, discernere non valemus, “multa tamen incommoda ex tunc orta et deinceps aucta, certum “tenemus.”—*Annalista Saxo*.



federacy, Adelbert archbishop of Bremen <sup>1</sup>. This prelate was one endowed with singular qualifications to shine in courts, and to fill a foremost place in the history of his time. With a striking person, he possessed great eloquence and a singular versatility of talent; and while, among princes and prelates, he asserted his dignity with the loftiest and proudest, he won the favour of the lower classes by his voluntary humiliations, his affable manners, and his prodigal munificence <sup>2</sup>. Presented to Henry, he soon insinuated himself into the young prince's confidence; more especially as he had been no party to the treachery of those who had plotted the abduction; and Hanno began to perceive that he was likely to be himself superseded in power by the new favourite whom he had introduced. But the discovery came too late. Adelbert was day by day extending his influence and growing in the royal favour; and the disappointed archbishop of Cologne beheld him, in a short time, the sole adviser of the monarch, and by consequence the sole depository of the power of the state. More completely to secure his hold upon Henry, Adelbert placed about him a young nobleman of agreeable manners, but profligate character, Werner by name <sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Iste nobilissimus genere Halberstadensis prius præpositus erat, ingenio acri, memoriæ celebris, eloquentiæ singularis, formâ corporis speciosus, castitatis amator, largitatis ejusmodi ut petere haberet indignum, tarde autem aut humiliter acciperet, prompte vero hilariterque sæpe non petentibus largiretur. Humilitas in eo dubia videbatur, quam solis exhibuit servis Dei, pauperibus et peregrinis, adeo ut sæpe antequam cubitum iret, xxx. et amplius mendicantibus ipse genu flexo pedes lavaret.—Principibus autem sæculi et æqualibus suis humiliari nullo modo voluit.—Hist. Archiepisc. Bremensium incerti auctoris, edit. Lindenbrog.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



in whose society the king soon learned to delight. Agnes too, her son being thus taken out of the hands of his original betrayers, returned to his court, and was treated by the now dominant prelate with the most distinguished attention. Hanno's ostensible policy had been based upon his character as an ecclesiastic. Attachment to the Church had formed the avowed motive, her prosperity the main object, of his labours. But Adelbert, as though in opposition to this, professed to assume, as his leading principle of conduct, a chivalrous devotion to the person of his sovereign, a loyal eagerness to assert and to extend the prerogatives of royalty. And this disposition, together with the wish to gratify, in every possible way, his new ally the empress, induced him, as soon as he felt secure in his pre-eminence, to deny the authority of the council of Osbor, and to declare himself the friend of the pretender Cadalous.

Another change, consequently, took place in the fortunes of the papal contest. Encouraged by Adelbert's support, the intruder penetrated through Tuscany, and suddenly appeared again before Rome<sup>1</sup>. Cencius and his other friends threw open to him the gates of the Leonine city, or that portion of Rome which lay on the right bank of the Tiber; and, aided by his aristocratic allies from the neighbourhood, he immediately endeavoured to drive Alexander from the remaining portion of the town<sup>2</sup>. But a stout resistance was made; a large portion of the populace took up arms against the assailants, and, surprised by Norman troops in his rear, Cadalous was compelled to retreat into the impreg-

<sup>1</sup> Occulte quasi fur Romaniam venit.—Bonizo, p. 807.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo ii. xvi. et seqq.

nable stronghold of Cencius, St. Angelo, and there to establish himself, closely watched by his adversaries<sup>1</sup>.

The Greeks, who, as it will be remembered, had acknowledged him as the legitimate pope, were anxious to prevail on the imperial court of the West, to dispatch a German armament into Italy, in support of his claims, as well as for the purpose of humbling the Norman power<sup>2</sup>. But, willing as Adelbert might have been to undertake such an enterprise, it was not in his power to gratify them. The forces of the empire were required for the attainment of objects nearer home; and it was, besides, requisite, in the first place, to nullify the decree which had been passed in favour of Alexander by the fiat of another council; a step which might be attended with hazard. Benzo, bishop of Alba, who had borne to Germany the request of Cadalous and his party for immediate assistance, was therefore compelled, on his return, to content himself with encouraging them to persevere, and to trust to future succour. And Cadalous, pent up within his tower, continued to keep the papal city in a state of feverish anxiety, but was not able to extend his dominion over it, or to prevent his rival from consolidating his power, by the continued occupation of the Lateran and general administration of the papal government. Alexander had holden a council in 1063<sup>3</sup>, and therein, re-enacting the decrees of his predecessors against simony and clerical marriage, had shown himself determined to follow the example of their reforming policy. And two more councils were summoned by him during the course of 1065<sup>4</sup>; the

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, ut supra.—Card. Aragon.—Benzo l. ii. c. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo iii. c. 1 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1137.

<sup>4</sup> Hard. pp. 1143. 1145.



principal object of which was the definition and enforcement of the Church's laws against marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. But, though he was thus able to go through the forms of legislation, little can have been the weight of his pastoral enactments, while his right to the pastoral character was yet the subject of contest; feeble must have been his efforts in stemming the corruption of the times, while a rival, intrenched within sight of his pontifical palace, menaced the existence of his authority, and arrayed the half of Italy against his pretensions. Melancholy, therefore, was the spectacle exhibited by the Church thus divided against herself. "The rulers of Churches," says the ardent Damiani, "are now daily whirled  
"along in such a vortex of worldliness, that though  
"their mode of shaving the beard <sup>1</sup>, distinguishes them  
"from the laity, their demeanour does not. Their  
"studies are, not the words of holy Scripture, but  
"legal decisions and forensic disputations. The halls of  
"judges suffice not for the multitude of priests who  
"throng them; and the royal courts, in vomiting forth  
"a shoal of monks and clergy, deplore their narrowness.  
"The cloisters are deserted; the gospel is closed; the  
"lips of priests being employed in expounding or disputing upon secular laws. And would that we were content with legal strife alone. We prefer arms, we  
"snatch up arms, we brandish weapon against weapon,  
"and fight with the sword, not with the word, in opposition to the rules of our order . . . The laity universally  
"pare away the Church's rights, diminish her incomes,  
"invade her possessions, and exult in appropriating the  
"stipends of her poor servants, as in dividing the spoils

<sup>1</sup> Barbirasium.



“ of an enemy. Among themselves, meanwhile, they  
 “ spoil each other’s goods—with mutual aggressions  
 “ they assail each other—and because, inclosed together  
 “ in one common world, they cannot live separate,  
 “ they harass each other by mutual devastation<sup>1</sup>. ”

“ The malignant spirit of evil,” continues the preacher,  
 “ now hurries the human race, with more than his  
 “ wonted eagerness, over the precipice of crime ; more  
 “ fiercely than ever agitates all men with bitterness  
 “ of hatred and treacherous animosity... The world  
 “ may be compared to a sea. When the storms of  
 “ wind arise, the face of the broad ocean being but  
 “ gently curled, the waters near the shore are more  
 “ powerfully stirred. And now, when we verge toward  
 “ the end of the world, as toward a neighbouring  
 “ shore, the hearts of all men are vexed by the raging  
 “ storms of dissension and discord, and, as it were,  
 “ dashed upon the strand by the foaming waves<sup>2</sup>. ”

Alexander had not been long selected by the Roman conclave to occupy the vacant seat of Nicholas, when the singularly-minded writer of the above sentences took a step, which it had required the most strenuous exertions of the deceased pontiff, to prevent his sooner adopting<sup>3</sup>. Wearied with the cares of his station, and disgusted with the low tone of the society around him, he abdicated his bishopric<sup>4</sup>, and retired to the seclusion and asceticism of the cloister, from which he had unwillingly emerged. From his retirement, it is true, he continued to watch with an attentive eye the fortunes of the Church ; by his epistles he still interfered with her

<sup>1</sup> Damian. ep. i. 15. ad Alexand. II.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. iv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Petri Damiani opusc. xix. de abdicatione episcopatus, ad Nicolaum Rom. Pontif.

<sup>4</sup> Damiani opusc. xx. Apologeticus ob dimissum episcopatum.

concerns, and influenced her destiny ; nor was he backward, when called on, to devote himself on special occasions to active services in her cause. But Hildebrand never forgave him the sort of selfishness, for so it may be styled, with which he determined on gratifying his morbid craving after ascetic retirement, at a moment in which the endangered Church so imperatively required his episcopal services. And Damiani, on his part, seems to have regarded Hildebrand, at this time, with sentiments which it is not easy satisfactorily to analyze. "Perhaps," he says, "my flattering tyrant, who has ever soothed me with Neronian pity, who has fondled me with buffets, and patted me with eagle's claws, will break forth into the following complaints against me :—' See, ' he seeks a nook, of refuge, and wishes, under the excuse of penitence, to escape from Rome ; he wishes ' by disobedience to obtain quiet, and while others ' carry on the war, himself to repose in the shade.' But I reply to my holy Satan, as once the children of Reuben and Gad replied to Moses, ' We will go forth ' armed to the battle until the children of Israel shall ' obtain their inheritance, but we demand nothing for ' ourselves beyond Jordan, for we have already obtained our lot <sup>1</sup>.' "

Some feelings akin to jealousy, it may be, excited by Hildebrand's now preponderating influence in the Church, mingled themselves, in the mind of Damiani, with his habitual dislike to rank and responsible station, in now leading him to fulfil the design of abandoning his bishopric. That influence, as exerted over Alex-

<sup>1</sup> Damian. ad Alexandrum Rom. Pontif. et Hildebrandum S. R. E. cardinalem Archidiac. lib. i. ep. x. et opusc. xx.



ander, he had recently satirized in the following couplet, addressed to the object of his spleen:—

Papam ritè colo, sed te prostratus adoro,  
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ille Deum<sup>1</sup>.

And in another distich—

Vivere vis Romæ : clarâ depromito voce,  
Plus domino Papæ quam domno pareo Papæ<sup>2</sup>.

Time went on ; the year 1065 found Cadalous still invested in his fortress ; still able to agitate and perplex the counsels of his rival, but still too weak to advance from his post, or to venture on any measure of active hostility. And from the empire the intruder still looked in vain for effective support. Adelbert was occupied with schemes, more immediately affecting his own personal interests, than the vindication of the imperial power over the papal city. Prosperity continued for some time to attend the aspiring archbishop's career. The affairs of Hungary were happily arranged, by the establishment, on the throne of that country, of Solomon, the son of the late king Andrew<sup>3</sup> ; who had received Henry's sister, Judith,—otherwise styled Sophia,—in marriage, and who, grateful for his restoration, in form acknowledged himself the vassal of the Teutonic realm. Henry, now no longer a mere child, continued to treat his counsellor with the fullest confidence, and to manifest his delight in Count Werner's society ; the two favourites, therefore, swayed the empire at their will. Prospects of the most dazzling nature swam before the ambitious Adelbert's eyes. He contemplated taking

<sup>1</sup> Damiani Preces et Carmina, No. cxcv.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. cxlix.

<sup>3</sup> Bonfinii Rerum Ungaric. Decad. ii. lib. iii.



Hamburg as the seat of his power, and establishing a species of papacy in the North. And as the development of this gigantic scheme, as well as the profuse magnificence of his daily habits, required continual supplies, he was tempted,—though above the passion of avarice in its more vulgar form,—to grasp at every possible method of increasing his resources; and he, and his ally, disgraced their rule, by a wide-spread system of corruption and plunder. Though withheld, by fear of consequences, from interfering with the possessions of the great prelates and nobles, they despoiled, without shame, the lands and revenues of the less powerful religious communities, and put up to sale every office, civil or ecclesiastical, which fell to their disposal<sup>1</sup>.

But the overbearing demeanour which Adelbert, thus virtually despotic, adopted toward his brother archbishops, and the other chief feudatories of the crown, exasperated them to the extreme. In private conferences, they breathed into each other's ears their various complaints; and at length, secure of each other's concurrence, they resolved to strike a decisive blow, toward the overthrow of the haughty favourite's power. They summoned the general nobility of the realm, to a meeting to be holden, in January, 1066, at Tribur<sup>2</sup>; where they intended publicly to denounce the obnoxious prelate, and to insist on his dismissal from the presence and confidence of his sovereign. Startled by this extraordinary measure, Henry set out at once from Goslar, accompanied by Adelbert and Werner, for the appointed place. But the journey of one of his companions was fatally interrupted. Count Werner, while halting in the town of Ingelheim, near Mentz, became engaged,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Near Darmstadt. Idem.

through the rapacity of his followers, in a fray with the inhabitants; and received, in the confusion, a mortal blow, from the hand of a slave, or, as some say, of a dancing girl<sup>1</sup>. Henry, however, with the archbishop, appeared on the appointed day, at Tribur; but he found the assembled nobles look coldly upon him; their language was peremptory; and in terms which he could not misconstrue, they gave him to understand, that he must at once either abdicate the throne, or banish the archbishop of Bremen from his society and his counsels. The king retired, to deliberate, during the night, upon the conduct to be pursued. Adelbert suggested a departure, during the darkness, from the scene of the rebellious assembly, and Henry prepared to adopt the suggestion. But the project was discovered, the king's palace was surrounded, and his motions watched; and so general was the exasperation against the obnoxious prelate, that, when the morning appeared, he was, with difficulty, preserved from the violence of the multitude by Henry's exertions and authority<sup>2</sup>. Thus unhappily situated, the king felt himself constrained to yield to the demand of his nobles; Adelbert was dismissed with disgrace from his court, retiring, amid the execrations of the populace, to insignificance and obscurity; and the chief power of the state fell once more into the hands of Hanno, Siegfried, and those other confederates, who had previously wielded it. To Henry, they were as distasteful as ever; but he was forced for a time to submit to circumstances, and durst not oppose their united power.

Cadalous, in the mean while, through the vigilance of his opponents, was day by day more closely invested

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.



in the fortress of St. Angelo. At length, straitened by a close blockade, he was reduced to a state of the greatest distress and privation, and, feeling the inutility of a longer stay in Rome, resolved upon attempting an escape. But the profligate Cencius, taking advantage of his guest's necessity, would not suffer him to undertake such a step, until he had extorted from him three hundred pieces of silver, as the price of his liberation<sup>1</sup>. Cadalous then quitted by stealth<sup>2</sup> the tower,—in which he had now resided about two years,—and, eluding the vigilance of his enemies, made his way, without misadventure, to his proper diocese<sup>3</sup>.

Alexander II. was thus delivered from a constant source of embarrassment at home, at the same time that he was encouraged by the cheering prospect of a renewal of the imperial support. Hanno returned to power with the same sentiments in his favour which he had formerly expressed; and prepared to ratify and enforce the decision of Osbor as soon as circumstances would permit. But the arrangements necessary to accomplish this end required time and management; more especially as it was thought advisable, by way of authoritatively terminating the dispute, that a council should be holden, under the imperial sanction, in Italy. The confederate prelates and princes felt it, of course, necessary to watch, with much vigilance, the movements of the monarch into whose counsels they had thus forced themselves; and, even independently of this consideration, the events in Germany, during the year 1066, were of too critical a nature, to render it expedient, that

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 807.

<sup>2</sup> Uno ronsino et uno cliente contentus. Card. Aragon.—Bonizo.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Ostiens.



Hanno should quit the court on a journey into Italy. At Utrecht, where Henry observed the festival of Easter, the archbishop of Treves suddenly breathed his last<sup>1</sup>; and Hanno procured of the king, without delay, the investiture of his relative Conrad, provost of Cologne, with the vacant see<sup>2</sup>. Conrad set out, accompanied by the bishop of Spires, and escorted by a military force, to take possession of the archiepiscopal residence. But the clergy and people of Treves were indignant that a new pastor should thus be intruded upon them, without their having been called on to take part in the election. Under the command of Count Dietrich, the principal lay-officer of the church, a considerable body sallied forth, and surprised Conrad in his quarters, the morning before his intended entry into the city. A bloody skirmish ensued; Conrad's forces were dispersed, and himself and the bishop of Spires made prisoners<sup>3</sup>. The latter, who had hidden himself behind the altar of a neighbouring church, was severely beaten, dragged with every species of insult out of the precincts of the sanctuary, and then suffered, half-naked and bare-footed, to escape on a sorry steed from the scene of his disgrace. But the unhapy Conrad was reserved for a severer punishment. After a short term of rigorous imprisonment, he was made over by the Count to four knights for execution; and these, after throwing him more than once from the top of a precipice, despatched him with the sword<sup>4</sup>. This tragical

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Trevirensium Archiepiscoporum*, ap. Martene et Durand. Coll. Ampl. t. iv. p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Trevir. Archiep.* ut supra.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.—*Gesta Trevir. Archiep.* ut

event naturally inspired, in the king and his advisers, the warmest indignation. But the schemes of vengeance, which were in the first instance formed, were soon abandoned. The court was not in a condition to venture upon increasing its embarrassments by a civil war. It was felt, too, that, unjustifiable as was the deed which had been perpetrated, it had been provoked by rash and over-hasty conduct on the other side. The two parties, therefore, soon came to a compromise. Udo, a respected ecclesiastic of the family of the Counts of Nellenburg, was a person acceptable to the king, and one whom, at the same time, the clergy and people of Treves declared themselves willing to accept as their pastor. He was, therefore, peaceably nominated to the archiepiscopal dignity<sup>1</sup>; and the murderers of Conrad escaped all punishment from the hands of earthly justice; though, in the miserable circumstances under which they severally came, at subsequent periods, to their ends, men deemed that they could recognize the less easily averted chastisements of a higher tribunal<sup>2</sup>.

An illness, with which the king, during the progress of these events, was seized, gave occasion to his nobles seriously to consider the important question of the succession to the throne<sup>3</sup>. He recovered, however; and in deference to the wishes of his counsellors, consented, during the summer, to fulfil the contract of marriage made, in his name, by his father, with the Princess Bertha,

supra.—Sigefridi Moguntin. Epist. ad Alex. Pap. in Udalric. Babenberg. cod. No. cxxix.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Gesta Trev. Archiep.—Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Ipse comes . . . . Jerosolymam pergens vitam finivit, et omnes ejus consentanei malâ morte perierunt. Annalista Saxo.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



of Susa<sup>1</sup>. By this measure, the confederate nobles hoped to give a new turn to his thoughts, and to wean him from the profligate habits in which, young as he was, he had begun to indulge; and which they deprecated, without, perhaps, reflecting how large a portion of the evil was to be traced to their own neglect and criminality. The measure, however, failed. Henry, though forced to go through the ceremonial of a marriage, conceived an aversion to the princess thus forced upon him, and shunned her company. The event, therefore, instead of furnishing Hanno and his friends, as they had hoped, with a new hold over the sovereign's mind and inclinations, did but supply them with a new source and occasion of perplexity. But, though thus independent, as to his personal conduct, of their authority, the king continued unable to shake off their political control; and their power, in the spring of 1067, was so far consolidated, that Hanno at length ventured to set out on his projected expedition to Italy. He crossed the Alps, accompanied by Godfrey of Lorraine, and Otho of Bavaria, and escorted by three hundred horsemen<sup>2</sup>; and, without making any halt in Tuscany, proceeded to Rome; where Alexander, to whom he had notified his approach through a new chancellor of Italy, Gregory bishop of Vercelli, was prepared for his reception. Assuming, as he felt it expedient to do, the character of an unpledged arbiter between the contending prelates, Hanno, on his introduction to the conclave, thus addressed the pontiff who presided over it: "How is it, O my brother, that you have ventured to assume the papal dignity without the direc-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.—Bonizo, p. 808.

<sup>2</sup> Benzo, lib. iii. c. xxiv.



“tion or consent of the king, my master? The sanction of princes and rulers has long been thought necessary to the validity of such promotions<sup>1</sup>.” And then, commencing with the patricians of Rome, and tracing the transmission of their power to the hands of the emperors of the West, he endeavoured—or seemed at least to endeavour—to establish the correctness of his assertion, by the citation of a variety of precedents drawn from the records of the apostolic see. But the defence of the Roman Church, which had been committed, at Osbor, to Peter Damiani, was here undertaken by the virtual leader of Alexander’s party, Hildebrand himself. Stepping forward, as Alexander’s archdeacon, to reply to Hanno’s address, he referred the archbishop to the practice of primitive and apostolic times, and to those canons of the Church in which, enacted as they had been at different times, that practice had been recognized and embodied. He insisted upon the liberty of pontifical election, guaranteed, by many such enactments, to the papal city; and, in reference to the recent decree of Nicholas II., he attempted to show that in the election of Alexander nothing had been done which, when the circumstances of the time were taken into consideration, could be regarded as contradictory to the spirit of that regulation<sup>2</sup>. Hanno, prepared beforehand to be convinced, appeared to feel the force of the archdeacon’s arguments; but willing to give his decision all possible weight, and for that purpose to maintain, for the present, the character of an unbiassed umpire, he besought Alexander to appear at a council which he intended to convene at Mantua<sup>3</sup>, to which Cadalous

<sup>1</sup> Card. Aragon.<sup>2</sup> Id.<sup>3</sup> Id.

should also be summoned, and by which the great question should be authoritatively decided. Situated as Alexander then was, the proposal might be considered humiliating; he knew, however, the motives of the proposer, and, feeling that no other step could so effectually consolidate his power, or appease the disturbances of Italy, he hesitated not to accede to it<sup>1</sup>. This important council, therefore, met, in his presence, in or about the month of April, 1067<sup>2</sup>. It was numerously attended by the prelates of northern Italy, most of whom, as the reader is aware, had strenuously supported the cause of Cadalous. But the definitive severance of the imperial authority from the support of his cause had influence with many. Many were prevailed on to give in their adhesion to the cause of Alexander, by the weight of Godfrey's name, and by the exertions of his wife Beatrice, the determined supporter of the Roman party. And some there, doubtless, were, who,—though the contravention of the royal will by an ecclesiastical body had at first appeared to

<sup>1</sup> *Licet a Romanorum pontificum hoc esset alienum dignitate, tamen quia necessitas urgebat.*—Bonizo, p. 808.

<sup>2</sup> Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1143.—The writers of the time differ much from each other in the date which they assign to this important assembly. Some, including Lambert of Aschaffenburg, and the continuator of Hermannus Contractus, fix it in 1064. Siegbert of Gemblours, and the author of the life of Ariald, in the *Acta SS. mens. Jun. di. 27*, in 1067. Marianus Scotus ascribes the decision in favour of Alexander to 1068; while Benzo appears to postpone it to 1071 or 1072. But the date adopted in the text (1067) is that approved, among modern critics and compilers, by the two Pagis, by Schrockh, by the author of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, and by Stenzel. By the latter, the subject is critically discussed, in an article of the appendix to his *Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*, and his arguments seem to leave little doubt on the question.



them a strange thing,—had learnt, from the fact of Alexander's maintaining, during nearly six years, his preponderance, to form new ideas on the subjects of canonical elections, and of the limits, in things spiritual, of the authority of the secular sovereign. The assembly met, therefore, disposed to abandon the pretender's cause, and to give weight to that decision, in favour of Alexander, which Hanno was prepared to make. Anticipating the event, Cadalous did not appear. Surrounded by his adherents, he established himself at Aqua Nigra, about twelve miles from Mantua; and notified to Hanno, that he would only present himself, on the archbishop's pledge to concede to him, as pope, the presiding seat in the assembly. But when he found this demand disregarded, and was informed, by his scouts, that the council was proceeding with its deliberations without him, he endeavoured to raise a tumult, by breaking into the town at the head of his military followers. By the efforts of Godfrey, however, he was soon discomfited and repulsed, and the session continued in tranquillity<sup>1</sup>. Alexander stated his case fully and fairly before his brother prelates; to the accusation which had been shamelessly brought against him by Cadalous, of having compassed his election by simony, he replied by a solemn oath of his innocence; and the unanimous voice of the assembly pronounced him the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and Cadalous an unauthorized claimant of the papal see<sup>2</sup>. And thus at length was brought to a conclusion this great and arduous struggle. The party of the intruder appears to have been virtually annihilated by the blow: Hugo Candidus<sup>3</sup> and others of his chief supporters seeking and

<sup>1</sup> Benzo, iii. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Sigebert Gemblac.—Marian. Scot.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo, p. 809.



obtaining a reconciliation with his successful rival. To the day of his death, Cadalous continued to arrogate to himself the papal name<sup>1</sup>; but he never dared, by any act of aggression, to assert his pretensions; never ventured to show himself again upon the banks of the Tiber.

And if this triumph of the ecclesiastical party, over the late despotic policy of the court, required any more palpable illustration in the eyes of mankind, such an illustration was most strikingly afforded, by an event which about this time took place. The Empress Agnes, when bereft of her son, had entertained, as we have seen, in the first moments of her anguish, the thought of devoting herself to a life of religious seclusion. Though she had been subsequently recalled to the court, and to her son's society, under the auspices of Adelbert, it was not to resume the commanding part which she had formerly played there, but to be treated with empty honours, while she beheld the unhappy youth guided, in courses which she deprecated, by counsellors whom she had no power to control. She continued, therefore, a mourner; and her sorrows strengthened and confirmed the devotional tendency of her mind. Earthly expectations fading before her, she learned to lean more stedfastly on hopes from above. Her friend and adviser, the Bishop of Augsburg, having died, she listened with pleasure to the ghostly counsels conveyed to her in the epistles addressed to her by Peter Damiani. Under this training, she learnt to view the course of her late policy with altered eyes, and to mourn over the part which she had taken in the election of Cadalous, as over a grievous sin. And,

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

after Adelbert's overthrow had once more put her son into the hands of those who had originally stolen him from her, she resolved on abandoning alike the name of earthly dignity, and the country in which that dignity had been enjoyed; and on spending the remainder of her days, in repentance and devotion, at the threshold of St. Peter<sup>1</sup>. Wonderful, according to Damiani, and edifying, was the spectacle of her entrance into the apostolic city. She rode, not on a stately palfrey, but on a short and sorry steed, scarcely exceeding the size of an ass: the robe had been exchanged for the veil, the purple for the sackcloth; and the hand which had wielded the sceptre, was worn by the constant use of the psalter<sup>2</sup>. Arrived in Rome, she humbled herself before the pontiff, whose title she had disputed; she sought and received his absolution; and then devoted herself to religious seclusion, in the convent of St. Petronilla, in the papal city<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sigebert Gemblac.—*Annalista Saxo*.—*Chronica Regia S. Pantaleonis*.

<sup>2</sup> Damiani, ep. v. lib. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Having in the first instance prepared herself for a monastic life by a sojourn in that of Fructuaria, in Piedmont. Vid. Not. in Chron. Cassin. Murator. t. iv. p. 450.—A most affectionate letter from the empress to the monks of this place is to be found in Mabillon. Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedicti, sæcul. vi. pt. i. p. 311.

## BOOK II.—CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1066 TO A. D. 1073.

CONQUEST OF ENGLAND—INVASION OF ROMAN TERRITORIES BY RICHARD OF CAPUA—GODFREY'S MARCH AGAINST HIM—BATTLE AT AQUINO, AND TREATY—EVENTS IN THE CONVENT OF TREMITI—AGITATION IN MILAN—MURDER OF ARIALD—ELECTION OF ATTO AS ARCHBISHOP—ECCLESIASTICAL DISSENSIONS AT FLORENCE—KING HENRY'S ATTEMPTED SEPARATION FROM HIS Q'VEEN—HIS QUARREL WITH THE SAXONS—DAMIANI'S MISSION TO MENTZ—ADELBERT'S RETURN TO POWER—OTHO OF NORDHEIM DEPRIVED OF THE DUCHY OF BAVARIA—DEATH OF ADELBERT—GENERAL COMPLAINTS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE—RECALL OF HANNO TO POWER—VISIT OF AGNES TO GERMANY—HANNO'S RETIREMENT—HENRY'S RASH AND TYRANNICAL CONDUCT TOWARD HIS NOBLES AND PEOPLE.

DURING the progress of the struggle, which was concluded by the council of Mantua, occurred that memorable event, the conquest of England by the Normans. Their leader William, as is well known, claimed the crown from the date of Edward the Confessor's death; nor was the right to it of his chief opponent, Harold, better than his own. But, before attempting to enforce his pretensions by the sword, the Norman Duke, desirous to strengthen those pretensions as much as possible, sent an embassy to Alexander II., and, laying his statement of the question before him, requested the papal sanction to the projected enterprise<sup>1</sup>. By such a

<sup>1</sup> *Justitiam suscepti belli, quantis poterat facundiæ nervis allegans.*—Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.



recognition of the legitimacy of his title, Alexander, while yet contending for that legitimacy with a formidable rival, could not but feel highly gratified. And as Harold, confident in possession, neglected to lay his statement of the case before the apostolic chair in a similar manner<sup>1</sup>, the pontiff did not hesitate to send back, with William's envoys, a consecrated banner, in token of his approval<sup>2</sup>. Various reasons, indeed, might have induced him to look with hope to the success of the undertaking. The outward devotion of the Normans, and their reverence for the apostolic see, have been already adverted to; and in England, once the most religious of kingdoms, religion, during the disastrous period of the Danish struggles, had fallen into a state of general decay. The pontiff might, therefore, look for such favourable results from a Norman conquest of the island, as did in fact attend that event. For, with all their faults, the Normans,—we have it on the authority of William of Malmesbury,—“raised up everywhere, “on their coming, the frame of religion, which in England was half-dead. Everywhere churches might be “seen to rise in villages, monasteries, built in a new “mode of architecture, in towns and cities, and the “country to flourish with new solemnities; every rich “man conceiving himself to have lost the day, which

<sup>1</sup> Haroldus id facere supersedit, vel quod turgidus naturâ esset, vel quod causæ diffideret, vel quod nuntios suos a Willielmo et ejus complicitibus qui omnes portus obsidebant, impediri timeret.—Will. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Vexillum in omen regni Willielmo contradedit.—Will. Malmesb. l. c. William, in return, after the battle of Hastings, sent to the pope, as an acknowledgment, the captured standard of the Anglo-Saxon king. Ib. Vid. Orderic. Vital. Hist. l. iii.—Pagi Breviar. t. i. p. 548, et Alexand. II. ep. viii. ap. Harduin. t. vi.

“ was not adorned by some act of religious magnificence<sup>1</sup>. ”

It was well for Alexander, that, shortly after these transactions, the final seal was set to the legality of his pretensions by the decision of the Mantuan council. For danger now threatened him from a new quarter ; a quarter to which he had for some time been accustomed to look for protection and support. Richard, the Norman prince of Capua, beholding the rapid successes of Guiscard, and his brother Roger, the conqueror of Sicily, was kindled to emulate their example ; or perhaps felt that his only prospect of security, against ultimate subjection to these enterprising chieftains, lay in a proportionate extension of his own domains and influence. Richard had been a party to the council of Nicholas II. at Melfi. Like Guiscard, he had there acknowledged himself a vassal of the apostolic see. In that character he had been present at Alexander's election<sup>2</sup>, and had since efficiently supported the cause of that pontiff by his arms. But now, adopting a new line of policy, he entered the Roman territory in a hostile manner, took Ceprano, and advanced, plundering and destroying, to the very gates of the papal city<sup>3</sup> ; where he demanded to be immediately admitted to the dignity and privileges of Patrician<sup>4</sup>. The demand was an insult

<sup>1</sup> Religionis normam in Angliâ usquequâque emortuam adventu suo sciscitarunt ; videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria novo ædificandi genere consurgere ; recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut sibi perîsse diem quique opulentus existimet, quem non aliqua præclara magnificentia illustret.—Willielm. Malmesb. de gestis regum, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Intravit terram Campaniæ, obseditque Ceperanum, et comprehendit eum, et devastando usque Romam pervenit.—Lupus Protospata in Chronic. ad an. 1066.—Card. Aragon. in vit. Alex. II. ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. t. iii. pt. i. p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. xxv.

to the monarchical dignity of Henry, as well as to the city; and it seems to have been, for a moment, contemplated by the young king's counsellors, that he should take this opportunity of an expedition into Italy, and, while avenging his dignity on the presumptuous Norman, receive the imperial crown in the city of St. Peter. But Godfrey, though now in appearance the firm friend of his sovereign, from whom he had, under Adelbert's administration, received again his long-withheld duchy of Lower Lorraine, was by no means anxious to behold that sovereign in Italy. It was to him, as Margrave of Tuscany, that the duty belonged, of making the necessary arrangements for the king's progress across the Alps, and for his reception in the territories on their southern side. His repugnance, therefore, to the project, was a serious impediment to its execution<sup>1</sup>; and, by undertaking himself the task of checking the presumptuous Norman, he attempted to remove, as soon as possible, the king's principal motive for the contemplated expedition. Strongly solicited by Alexander and Hildebrand to take upon himself the defence of the Church, he proceeded to Rome, from which the Normans retired at his approach; and was thence accompanied, as he moved in pursuit of them, by the pontiff himself and the principal cardinals; his step-daughter Matilda also accompanying the expedition. He at length found the Normans awaiting his approach at Aquino, on the Garigliano; a position in which they had strongly entrenched themselves, under the command of Richard's son Jordanus. Here they sustained his attacks, with varying success, during eighteen days<sup>2</sup>. The chiefs of the two armies then entered into negotiations, which terminated in peace, and in the abandonment, by Richard,

<sup>1</sup> Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Id. l. c.



of the ambitious views which he had been led to entertain. Godfrey, ever suspected of insincerity, is charged with having, on this occasion, as on others, sacrificed the public welfare to his individual advantage. The gold of Richard, it is said, prevailed on him to release the Normans from the streight into which his arms had driven them, on terms which they had no right to expect<sup>1</sup>. The Church, however, was delivered from the danger which immediately threatened her; and Alexander returned joyfully toward Rome<sup>2</sup>.

Either shortly before, or after, this successful expedition, Alexander, accompanied by Hildebrand, paid a visit to the monastery of Monte Cassino. Some unfortunate occurrences had recently taken place in the religious house, dependent on that monastery, which was established in the island of Tremiti. The monks of that place had become notorious for their abandoned lives; and Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino,—a man of more gentleness than firmness of character,—endeavoured to palliate the evil, by displacing the superior of Tremiti, who had been convicted of many crimes, and appointing to the dignity of abbot, in his room, a young man named Thrasimond, of noble family and unblemished character. But the vicious monks,—even within a few days of this appointment,—were detected in schemes of rebellion against their unwelcome ruler; and, upon this, Thrasimond, seizing four of the ringleaders, commanded that the eyes of three should be put out, and the tongue of the fourth cut off. Desiderius, when made acquainted with these proceedings, was overwhelmed with grief; he condemned

<sup>1</sup> Non parvâ, ut dicitur, a Normannis donatus pecuniâ.—Leo Ostiens. iii. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens.

the severity of the judge, mourned the sufferings of the criminals, and, above all,—says his historian, who probably well understood his character,—was distressed by the scandal of the proceedings, and the infamy which they would bring on the place<sup>1</sup>. And, removing Thrasimond from his station, he subjected him to a severe and public reprimand, and then to confinement and penance. But Hildebrand, of a character very unlike that of Desiderius, embraced, when informed of these transactions, a totally different line of conduct. He declared, that Thrasimond had shown firmness, and not cruelty, toward the guilty men whom it had been his duty to punish; and, when he had, with difficulty, procured from Desiderius the imprisoned abbot's release, he appointed him to an abbey more important than that of which he had been deprived, and, at no great distance of time, procured his elevation to the bishopric of Balva. Hildebrand would not be shocked—as a person in the present age would be—by the horrid nature of the punishments inflicted; and he might well feel—the guilt of the sufferers being gross and manifest—that it was important to counteract the moral effect of the course adopted by Desiderius, in the most decisive manner possible<sup>2</sup>.

It was not probable that the great contest for the papacy should continue so long as it did, without exciting into activity the local elements of discord which existed in different cities, as well as principles of disunion of a more general kind. And Milan, agitated as it had already been, could scarcely be expected to escape a repetition of the tumultuous scenes which had

<sup>1</sup> Tum denique, quod erat præcipuum, et quod magis commovebat, pro loci hujus infamia.—Leo Ostiens.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. c. xxvii.

formerly disgraced it. We find, accordingly, that in that ill-fated town, the apparent concord produced by the efforts of Damiani, in 1059, speedily disappeared. The archbishop and his clergy resumed the habits of life which they had pledged themselves to relinquish; and their former antagonist, the deacon Ariald, set himself anew, with all his energy, or rather violence, to oppose them. By the death of his friend Landulf, he was deprived of the assistance of a faithful coadjutor; but he found as able, and as strenuous, an auxiliary, in his deceased friend's brother, a layman, Herlembald by name<sup>1</sup>. This person, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was so disgusted with the state of things in his native city, that he contemplated a retirement from the world into monastic seclusion; but Ariald persuaded him that his appointed line of duty was that of active service. He, therefore, joined the zealous preacher in his exertions, and their united efforts soon aroused anew a popular ferment in the city. Alexander, when made aware of the importance of this champion of Rome, presented him with a consecrated banner; which he used to animate his followers in the affrays in which, through the mutual exacerbation of the two parties, he was constantly engaged. And in 1066, Alexander, in consequence of the statements which reached him through the two associated reformers, pronounced the aged archbishop Guido excommunicate. The sentence was immediately promulgated by Ariald in that prelate's city; and the consequence was, that on the feast of Pentecost, Guido was furiously assailed and beaten, and his palace plundered, by the Milanese rabble. But this atrocious

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph. Hist. Med. l. iii. c. xiv. Landulph. senior, iii. xiii.



outrage produced, as its natural consequence, a revulsion in public feeling; and Arialdo, to save his life, fled hastily from Milan. But two of the archbishop's clergy, determined upon vengeance, followed his footsteps, and coming up with him on the shore of the Lago Maggiore, put him to the most cruel death, putting out his eyes, and cutting off, in succession, the various members of his body. This occurred on the 27th or 28th of June, 1066<sup>1</sup>.

This atrocious deed naturally excited in the Roman conclave the warmest indignation. Alexander, however, was, by disposition, always inclined to lenient measures; and when, in 1067, he felt himself securely seated on the papal throne, he despatched Mainard, bishop of Silva Candida, and John, a cardinal presbyter of the Roman Church, as his legates to Milan; commissioned, not to punish, while they deplored, the offences of the past; but to re-enact, for the governance of the future, the canons against simony and clerical irregularities, which had been so generally neglected in the city of St. Ambrose<sup>2</sup>.

But this lenient measure was only successful in procuring a momentary tranquillity. The strife of factions soon began to rage anew, and the contest continued, during the whole of Alexander's pontificate, undiminished in its bitterness. Worn out by age, and the violence of his adversaries, the infirm archbishop Guido found himself at length unable to continue the struggle; but when in 1069, he abdicated the see, he procured the nomination of a successor who belonged to the same party among the clergy with himself. God-

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph. l. iii. c. xviii. Landulph. senior, iii. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Constitutiones quas legati sedis apostolicæ Mediolanensibus observandas præscripserunt.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1081.

frey, for so the person thus appointed was named, received the ring and staff, the recognized emblems of investiture, from king Henry; and thus became at once the representative of the imperial and of the anti-Roman party in Milan. His election, however, was odious to a large portion of his flock; and he was compelled to fly from the city<sup>1</sup>. Guido continued, during the brief remainder of his life, to exercise there a precarious authority; and after his death, Herlembald, armed with the papal sanction, procured the election, by that portion of the clergy and people who adhered to his party, of a young man named Atto<sup>2</sup>. This last transaction took place in 1072. But the new nominee was, even during the banquet which followed his installation, overpowered by a party hostile to his pretensions; falling into their hands, he was treated with the utmost violence and insult<sup>3</sup>, and was thus compelled to purchase his safety, by a solemn vow to renounce for ever the archiepiscopal functions<sup>4</sup>. Atto then, happy to have escaped with his life, fled to Rome, and there laid his case before the papal conclave; where Hildebrand had no sooner been made acquainted with the circumstances, than he declared that the oath taken under such constraint was void<sup>5</sup>; and one of the last acts of Alexander's life was the sanction of Atto's pretensions and the denunciation of his adversary as an intruder<sup>6</sup>. The mention of these last circumstances in this stage of our narration is, perhaps, rather out of place; but it seemed desirable to

<sup>1</sup> Arnulph, l. iii. c. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Bonizo, p. 810.—Arnulph. l. iii. c. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Atto dum cameræ unius lateret in angulo inventus capitur, et misere laniatur. Demum per suras et brachia a summis ad ima protrahitur.—Arnulph. Hist. Med. iii. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Arnulph. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Bonizo, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Arnulph. iv. ii.



bring the events at Milan under the reader's notice in as connected a form as possible ; rather than to interrupt, by a repeated reference to them, the continuity of other portions of the history.

The Church of Florence, too, was at this stormy epoch in a state of unusual trouble ; owing to an accusation of simony brought against its bishop by the monks of Vallombrosa—an accusation which, after giving rise to much violence of discussion and many heartburnings, was at length decided by a mode which Alexander had declined to sanction—the ordeal of fire. One of the monks passed unhurt along a burning path between two masses of flaming wood ; and the bishop, probably conscious of his guilt, retired from his see to penitence and seclusion<sup>1</sup>. Other causes of quarrel convulsed other portions of Italy, and Alexander had ample employment in meeting the exigencies which they occasioned ; in addition to the constant labour of propagating and enforcing those general principles of ecclesiastical reform with which the papacy had now identified its interests. The progress of the late conflict, by connecting these principles with practical questions of a momentous nature, had rendered them familiar to the thoughts of all men ; and the result was a great accession of moral strength to the side of their assertors. The violence with which these principles had been impugned by the supporters of Cadalous, produced, on that pretender's fall, a strong reaction in their favour. And though it is probable that neither of the two great parties in the Church understood, at the time, the full importance of what had been accomplished, we find that, almost immediately after the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> Victor III. dialog. lib. iii.—Epist. Florentin. ad Alex. II. ap. Baron. ad ann. 1063.



of the struggle, the intercourse between the pontiff and the imperial court was carried on in terms, which betokened a connection between the two, very different from that humble dependency of the former upon the latter, which had characterized the era of Henry III.

The thoughtless son of that monarch soon gave Alexander a cause to interfere in the affairs of Germany with dignity and success. The aversion with which he, at the time of his marriage, regarded the bride who had been forced upon him, has been already mentioned. The ceremony had scarcely been concluded, when he set himself to devise the means of its annulment. While himself avoiding his amiable consort's company, it is said that he employed a confidential friend to win, if possible, the neglected queen's affections, and, by seducing her from her duty, to lay the ground for a public accusation; by means of which he might free himself for ever from a connexion which he detested<sup>1</sup>. But the scheme, if indeed it were attempted, signally failed; and Henry, his impatience at length becoming uncontrollable, suggested to Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, the expediency of a public separation<sup>2</sup>. The prelate then needed the royal assistance to carry into effect some plans of his own; he therefore promised his co-operation; upon which Henry ventured to propound the question of an annulment of his marriage, before his nobles assembled at Worms, shortly after the feast of Pentecost, 1069<sup>3</sup>. The proposal was received with general dissatisfaction; none, however, at the moment, openly opposed it, and it was settled that a council should be held at Mentz, in the week after the ensuing

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

Michaelmas, for the purpose of proceeding with the matter<sup>1</sup>; the unhappy Bertha betaking herself, for the interval, to the abbey of Lorsch<sup>2</sup>.

Henry then endeavoured to requite the services of Siegfried, by assisting that prelate, in the contention into which he had entered, with the inhabitants of the province of Thuringia<sup>3</sup>. That province, though included in the arch-diocese over which Siegfried presided, had not, from the time of St. Boniface, been accustomed to pay tithes to the archbishops of Mentz. But, in that period of general rapacity on the part of prelates and nobles, the minority of Henry IV., Siegfried's predecessor, Luitbold, had procured from the young king a document, in which the liability to tithe of the royal possessions in Thuringia was acknowledged: and the charge, with respect to the whole, compounded for, by the cession to the archbishop of a considerable portion of them in fee. When, therefore, William of Meissen, who held the Mark of Thuringia under the crown, died, and his brother Otho was appointed to succeed him, Siegfried offered to enfeoff him likewise with the lands thus given to the see, on the condition that he would not only pay the tithes himself on all his other possessions in the province, but that he would generally enforce such a payment throughout Thuringia<sup>4</sup>. By his endeavours to do this, Otho made himself generally detested by the Thuringians<sup>5</sup>, as did also the king's cousin Count Ecbert, who in 1067 succeeded to his government<sup>6</sup> as well as to his compact with the prelate of Mentz. But Ecbert himself died in the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Sigefridi Epist. ad Alexand. II. in Udalric. Babenberg. Cod. Epist. No. cxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>5</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>6</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



following year 1068<sup>1</sup>, and, as the king had given the Mark, in reversion, to his son, it fell, on this occurrence, into the hands of a child; a circumstance of which the discontented Thuringians resolved at once to avail themselves for the recovery of their ancient rights and prescriptive liberties. Siegfried therefore felt that his pretensions must be forcibly asserted, or abandoned for ever; and, as the disturbances excited in that part of Germany, by a discontented noble, gave Henry occasion for an armed interference with its concerns<sup>2</sup>, the archbishop,—as the price of his assistance in the matter of the divorce,—besought the king to use his power in the enforcement of the tithe, as well as in vindication of the dignity of the crown. Henry, to whom every thing, but the desired separation, appeared, at the moment, of secondary importance, readily acceded to the request. And his arms were, for the time, successful in accomplishing his ends; but, during the subsequent progress of his reign, he had often occasion to repent the rashness, with which, by connecting the royal name with an odious quarrel, he had made enemies of a gallant population, whose territories bordered on the already hostile and irritated province of Saxony.

As the time approached, which had been appointed for the council at Mentz, the king, flushed with hopes of speedily freeing himself from the bond which he detested, set out for that city. But great was his consternation and dismay when intelligence reached him upon his journey that the now aged Damiani, in the character of a legate of the apostolic see, was at Mentz, awaiting his arrival, and prepared to denounce the contemplated measure with the full weight of

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.



pontifical authority <sup>1</sup>. Henry's first impulse, on receiving this information, was to return at once into Saxony and disappoint the assembled magnates. The advice of his friends, however, showed him the danger of such a proceeding, and he sent to request the appearance of the members of the council before him at Frankfort. Damiani appeared among them ; and declared his commission to represent the person and sentiments of Alexander. In the pontiff's behalf, he declared that the project was one which it was shameful to entertain—one which would disgrace the name, not only of a king, but of a Christian. He entreated Henry, if nothing else restrained him, to reverence at least his own illustrious dignity, and not to tarnish his glory, by becoming, instead of the avenger of misdeeds, the leader and instigator of his Christian people to crime. He warned him that, if persuasion failed to move him, he was prepared to appeal to the powers of ecclesiastical law, and to exert the rigour of the canons ; and he declared that the papal hands would never consecrate him to empire, who should, by a deed of such scandalous example, have betrayed, as far as in him lay, the Christian faith <sup>2</sup>. A murmur of approbation, as Peter concluded, ran through the assembly ; and Henry felt the inutility of resistance. "If these," he said to the nobles around him, "be indeed your general sentiments, I must control myself, and bear the burden from which I cannot be freed." He then departed from the place of meeting in haste, and, attended by about forty horsemen, took the road to Saxony <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—sed vid. Sigefridi Moguntini epist. ad Alex. II. ut supra.

The queen, with the body of his court, soon followed him. He was prevailed on to receive her, in the first instance, with civility; but for some time afterwards treated her with coldness<sup>1</sup>; the reconciliation, however, seems subsequently to have been complete. She bore him several children, and was, as long as she lived, his constant companion and support, amid the troubles and difficulties of his reign.

During the years which followed this transaction, the thoughtless monarch contrived to embroil himself, in succession, with most of the powerful nobles and martial provinces of his empire; and thus to shake, to its very foundations, the authority of his crown; and though it would be foreign to the main purpose of this narration, to detail all the feuds to which his acts of wantonness or oppression gave birth, it will be necessary to mention some, as most materially modifying, by their disastrous results, the complexion and character of his subsequent reign.

About the time of his reconciliation with Queen Bertha, his former adviser, Adelbert of Bremen, reappeared at his court; and the nobles were scandalized by seeing that obnoxious prelate, whose departure Henry had never ceased to regret, restored on a sudden to all his former plenitude of power. Independently of the pleasure which Henry derived from the archbishop's fascinating manners, the young king was probably glad to be relieved, by the energy and activity of his commanding spirit, from the necessity of superintending in person the irksome details of government. These he could trust to Adelbert, whose talents he knew, and in whose zeal in his service he confided; and thus freely

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

and uninterruptedly indulge in that course of pleasures to which he mainly devoted himself, and from which he was only aroused when spleen, or ambition, led him to attempt the ruin of some too powerful noble, or the depression of some too independent province.

One of the great feudatories of his crown, whom he regarded with peculiar jealousy and dislike, was Otho of Nordheim, on whom, as we have seen, Agnes had conferred the duchy of Bavaria<sup>1</sup>. Otho was, in truth, an unamiable man, of a scheming, ambitious disposition; and as he was possessed, not only of the common quality of personal courage, but of the rarer art of arranging and conducting armies with skill, he possessed a formidable power for carrying into effect any project which he might form. And Henry might naturally detest the ingratitude, with which, so shortly after his appointment to the duchy, he had united with the discontented nobles, in wresting the powers of government from his imperial benefactress. When, therefore,—in 1070,—an accusation of treason was brought against Otho, by a man of most disreputable character<sup>2</sup>, named Egino, Henry listened with pleasure to the charge, and, at a council consisting, in great part, of persons whom the successes of Otho had moved to envy, demanded his reply to it in form. Egino's statement was, that Otho had practised with him to compass by his means the murder of the king; but his only proof was a most unsatisfactory one,—the exhibition of the sword with which, as he said, he had been presented

<sup>1</sup> Annalista Saxo.

<sup>2</sup> *Omni flagitiorum genere infamatum.* Lamb. Schafnab.—*Audaciâ tantum et nequitia satis diffamatus.* Annalista Saxo.—Abb. Ursperg.—Bruno.—Chronograph. Saxo.



by Otho for that guilty purpose<sup>1</sup>. Notwithstanding, however, the vagueness of this testimony, and the ill fame of him by whom it was brought forward, Henry treated the accusation as important; and, upon Otho's denial of the charge, he directed him to prepare for the assertion of his innocence, by single combat with his accuser, in six weeks' time, at Goslar. The great body of the German nobles, when informed of this decision, loudly complained of the unfairness of thus exposing a man of the first rank, and most unsullied reputation, to combat with one who, though of gentle descent, had long sullied, by the commission of crimes the most atrocious, the dignity of his blood. But Otho, in his indignation, declared himself ready to engage any one, however unworthy, rather than to lie under a suspicion so unfounded. As the day, named for the combat, approached, he advanced with his armed followers to the neighbourhood of Goslar, and demanded of the king a safe conduct, that he might plead his cause, and rebutt the charge, by whatever means the general voice of his brother-nobles should approve of. The king, to this, returned an angry answer<sup>2</sup>; declining to grant any safe-conduct for the purpose required, and declaring, that in the event of his declining forthwith to undertake the appointed combat, his guilt should be considered as proved, and that he should be treated accordingly. Having received this message, and being aware, from other sources, of the monarch's excited feelings against him, Otho, by the advice of his friends, refused to present himself at Goslar<sup>3</sup>. On the day following

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Atrociter et acerbè respondit.—Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.—Bruno de Bello Saxon.

this disobedience, Henry, in a council mainly composed of Saxon nobles, to whom Otho was personally obnoxious, procured sentence against him as a traitor, which had no sooner been passed, than the unfortunate duke's possessions were plundered and ravaged, with fire and sword, by all who chose to avail themselves of the king's name, to gratify their cupidity or their spleen against him<sup>1</sup>. Levying a body of his retainers, Otho commenced hostilities in his turn, and made reprisals for the spoliation of his estates, by the plunder of the royal demesnes in Thuringia. He had a warm friend and supporter in the young Magnus, son to Ordulf, duke of Saxony; and, through his aid, and that of other friends, he maintained himself in arms, for a while, in opposition to the royal power. At length, however, his means failed him; but then the prudent counsels of count Eberhard of Nellenburg prevented matters from being carried to extremities<sup>2</sup>. This nobleman, the brother of Udo archbishop of Treves, having become known to the king, was prized by him as a person of singular sagacity, and from this time to the end of his life was frequently employed by him in critical business of a diplomatic nature. Through his mediation on this occasion, Otho, in the beginning of the year 1071, laid down his arms, and at the ensuing feast of Pentecost surrendered himself to the king, with Magnus and others of his principal coadjutors; upon which Henry, taking the two chiefs into his own custody, committed the remaining prisoners, for a definite time, to the charge of different nobles of the empire. The forfeited duchy of Bavaria was, in the mean while, bestowed by the monarch on Welf

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



or Guelfo, an Italian noble, and son to Azzo marquis of Este, who had married Otho's daughter Ethelind<sup>1</sup>, and who, succeeding to the possessions and name of his maternal grandfather, the last male of the ancient German house of Guelf, became the progenitor of that illustrious family, which, having subsisted with distinction in Germany from his times to our own, has, through a singular combination of events, been placed in recent times upon the English throne.

While Otho flourished in reputation and power, Welf conducted himself as an attached friend to him, and as an attentive husband to his daughter. But the ruin of his father-in-law no sooner appeared, to the crafty Italian, inevitable, than he disclaimed all participation in his cause,—dismissed Ethelind with contumely from his house,—and strained every nerve to procure from the king, by presents and promises, the ducal fief of which Otho was deprived<sup>2</sup>. In this, as has been already mentioned, he succeeded; but the whole transaction gave great scandal to the inhabitants of that extensive duchy<sup>3</sup>. And though Henry, aware of this, shortly afterwards visited Bavaria, his success was but partial in calming their irritated minds, or in reviving among them a loyal attachment to his person and dignity.

Duke Ordulf, the father of Magnus of Saxony, died shortly after Otho's relinquishment of hostilities; an event upon which, according to the ancient custom of the province, his fief devolved upon his son, without

<sup>1</sup> *Annalista Saxo*.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> They claimed the privilege of electing their own dukes: vid. *Lindebrog. cod. leg. antiquar. tit. 11. c. 1 and 20.* “*Nonne scitis Bajuarios ab initio ducem eligendi liberam habere potestatem?*” *Henric. II. in Ditmar. Chronic.*



any grant or sanction from the crown. But Henry, offended as he was with the young prince, was naturally averse to see him at the head of that powerful people. He therefore availed himself of Magnus' submission and captivity, to strip his duchy of various possessions, and to exercise over it an arbitrary power, by which its martial population, already hostile to his royal house, were exasperated to the highest degree.

On the 16th of March, 1072, Adelbert, after long struggling with the attacks of disease, breathed his last<sup>1</sup>. During the last months of his life he had governed the king with absolute control;—banishing all but creatures of his own from the royal society. His death was therefore a subject of general rejoicing to the discontented nobles of the land; who, while they in truth hated him for usurping a power which they would fain have usurped themselves, had ample grounds of a public nature to allege for their animosity, in the disorders and ruin which his profligate administration had brought upon their country. The archbishop's main aim had been to gratify his young sovereign; and for this end he was ready, when necessary, to encourage him, either in the neglect of irksome duties, or in the perpetration of positive crime. Adelbert's is indeed a sad history. With extraordinary talents, he had received from nature the rudiments of a good, as well as great, character. His feelings on the subject of religion were so strong, that in celebrating the holy mystery of the Eucharist he would often dissolve into tears; and in the midst of an age of clerical laxity and corruption, he was believed to have led a life of unspotted continence and purity<sup>2</sup>. But an

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

excessive vanity overpowered, at least to human eyes, these principles of virtue ; and his counsels were identified in the public estimation with a system of evils, which continued to produce its baleful results, long after he himself had been called away from earthly existence.

On the Easter following his decease,—a festival which the court celebrated at Utrecht<sup>1</sup>,—Henry was assailed on every side by the petitions and remonstrances of his people. They complained of the injuries and oppressions which were suffered by innocent persons throughout his kingdom ; of the wrongs of widows and orphans ; of the plunder of monasteries and churches ; in fine, of the general licence, given to the wicked, to revel in every species of crime. The nobles seconded them in these complaints ; and the king, either shocked by the state of things thus laid before him, or wearied by the importunity of his petitioners, at length agreed to solicit the archbishop of Cologne to take upon himself the burden of the state<sup>2</sup>. Hanno accepted, though with apparent reluctance, this weighty charge, and soon set himself in earnest to the work of reformation. With all his faults, he possessed qualities which under existing circumstances well fitted him for the office. The austerity of his manners, and his freedom from the gross vices which were too common in his time, procured for him personal respect ; the energy of his character adapted him for grappling with, and overcoming, obstacles, from which weaker-minded governors might have shrunk ; and his zeal in punishing offences was not perhaps the less suitable to the contingencies of his time, that it was blended with a cruel severity. In the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.



administration of justice, he listened as readily to the poorest, as to the most powerful complainant. The rich, who abused their power over their weaker neighbours, became the objects of his severe rebuke; and their castles, if they permitted them to become places of refuge to evil-doers, were by his orders levelled with the ground. "For a time," says the accurate historian Lambert of Aschaffenburg, "his administration seemed to "infuse into the vicious and indolent youth, whose "dignity he represented, the activity and virtues of his "royal father<sup>1</sup>."

But, as far as the monarch was concerned, the apparent reformation was of short continuance. Otho of Nordheim was, probably by Hanno's recommendation, released by the king from the captivity in which he had now continued a year, and permitted to retire to his hereditary possessions; being however obliged to cede a portion to the king<sup>2</sup>. But Henry had now fixed an eye of jealousy or suspicion upon another powerful noble, Rudolf of Rheinfeld; upon whom Agnes, as may be recollected, had conferred the duchy of Swabia and the government of Burgundy. On the decease of the young princess, Henry's sister, whom he had intended to make his spouse, Rudolf had connected himself in another way with the royal house, by marrying a sister of Queen Bertha; and this, after the offence which Henry had given to her family, might be sufficient to excite ill-will between the sovereign and his power-

<sup>1</sup> *Eo moderamine, eâ industriâ atque auctoritate rem tractabat, ut profecto ambigeres, pontificali eum, an regio nomine digniorem judicares, atque in rege ipso, qui in cultu atque socordiâ præceps ierat, paternam virtutem et paternos mores brevi exsuscitaret.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*



ful vassal. But, however this may be, Rudolf was accused before the king as an intriguer against the state, and was summoned by Henry to appear and defend himself. But the Swabian duke remembered the fate of Otho; and therefore resolved, if possible, to extricate himself in another manner from the danger which threatened him. The violent step which he had formerly taken, in the capture of the young princess, was not so inconsistent with the usual manners of the time, as to cause a deadly quarrel between him and the lady's mother. Agnes seems, on the contrary, after she had conceded to his demands the important fiefs which he coveted, to have treated him as a valued and important friend. To her, then, in this emergency, he resolved to appeal; and, devoted as she now was to religious duties, the beneficent recluse felt that it was no abandonment of the engagements which she had contracted, to leave the cloister for a while, with the intent of succouring a friend in distress, and endeavouring to maintain peace in a distracted state<sup>1</sup>. Accompanied by a long train of abbots and monks, she set out for Germany, and presented herself before her son at Worms on the feast of St. James, 1072. Under her auspices, Rudolf appeared before his sovereign, and, defending himself against the charge which had been brought against him, was admitted by Henry to an apparent reconciliation. He knew however that rancour against him yet lingered in the monarch's mind, and therefore, absenting himself from the court, he retired to his possessions<sup>2</sup>; a circumstance which Henry subsequently distorted into a fresh ground of suspicion against him.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

Deferential as, for a time, had been Henry's manner to him, the archbishop of Cologne soon found how unreal were the young sovereign's professions of attachment and reformation. He was disgusted, too, with the daily scenes which he witnessed in the palace, and which it was beyond his power to control. And, therefore, at the feast of Christmas, 1072, alleging age and infirmities as his excuse, he solicited permission to resign the weighty charge which had been imposed upon him<sup>1</sup>. Henry, delighted to be freed from one whom he regarded as a severe pedagogue, readily acceded to the request; and immediately returned to the unbridled gratification of those violent passions and licentious appetites, which he had, during the short period of Hanno's administration, hardly and imperfectly restrained. To make permanent his temporary ascendancy in Saxony, he commanded the erection of castles or forts on hills and other important positions throughout the province, and filled them with followers whom he could trust; and as he had no power of permanently furnishing these garrisons with the means of subsistence, he authorized them, as though they had been in an enemy's country, to supply their wants by seizures of the property of the neighbouring inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. The discontent excited in Saxony by this outrageous proceeding may be imagined: and when, in addition to this, we find that he continued to embitter against himself the gallant people of Thuringia, by asserting and enforcing the rapacious Siegfried's demand of their tithes;—that by fresh demonstrations of suspicion, he drove Rudolf to the point of throwing off his allegiance, and resisting his sovereign with the

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Annalista Saxo.

sword<sup>1</sup>; and that Berthold of Carinthia was also, on suspicion unconfirmed by any proof declared by him, deprived of his duchy<sup>2</sup>; we learn to understand how completely, in a few years, this rash and misguided youth had sapped the foundations of that authority, which the talents of Conrad the Salic had established, and the prudence of Henry III. had consolidated in his house.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.



## BOOK II.—CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1070 TO A. D. 1073.

TRAFFIC IN ECCLESIASTICAL BENEFICES—RAPACITY OF HANNO—TRIUMPH OF ST. REMACLUS—POSITION, IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER, OF THE IMPERIAL AND PAPAL POWERS—HANNO, AND OTHER PRELATES, SUMMONED TO ROME—VACILLATING CONDUCT OF SIEGFRIED OF MENTZ—VISIT OF ENGLISH ARCHBISHOPS TO ROME—DEATH OF GODFREY—MARRIAGE OF GODFREY, HIS SON, TO MATILDA—CHARACTER OF “THE GREAT COUNTESS”—DEATH OF DAMIANI—HENRY SUMMONED BY ALEXANDER TO ROME—DEATH OF ALEXANDER II.

IN his dealings with the Church of Germany, the misguided Henry did not display more principle, or more prudence, than in the management of his secular affairs. The manners of those churchmen with whom, on his abduction from his mother, he had been brought into contact, was not such as to inspire him with any reverential feeling for the commission which they bore: and the general character of the priestly and monastic orders throughout his dominions could not fail to confirm in his mind the lowest and most degrading notions of the clerical body in general. With regard to the monks, who, though not in fact clerical, were constantly classed by public opinion with the authorized ministers of religion, Lambert of Aschaffenburg, himself a monk, admits that the monastic character throughout Germany had fallen into ignominy<sup>1</sup>. Unworthy

<sup>1</sup> Nam quorundam pseudomonachorum privata ignominia nomen monachorum vehementer infamaverat.—Lamb. Schafnab.

brethren of the conventual orders incessantly beset the ears of princes and magnates, who possessed the right of presentation to abbeys and benefices, and endeavoured to obtain these prizes from them, by means the most disgraceful. In their rivalry with each other they proffered, according to Lambert, mountains of gold; secular competitors were excluded by the vastness of their offers, nor did the vendor dare to ask so much as the purchaser was prepared to pay. The world wondered, continues the same historian, from what springs these rivers of money could flow; and understood not how the riches of Croesus and of Tantalus could have been amassed by private men; by those more especially who had taken upon themselves the scandal of the cross, and the profession of poverty,—and who disclaimed a right of property in aught beside their daily sustenance and clothing<sup>1</sup>. And though Lambert, it is probable, asserts no more than the truth, when he declares that these unprincipled monks bore but a small proportion to those of more exemplary manners, yet he is forced to admit that, as far as public opinion was concerned, this leaven had so leavened the whole mass, that, when any prince or noble attempted to found a school of holy living and divine exercises, he usually sent for monks from beyond the Alps to form and regulate it; those of Germany being put aside as unworthy.

The rapacity of the great prelates of the empire has been already commented upon. Hanno, strict as he was in some respects, and considered, amid the general laxity of the time, as a reformer, had not shown less eagerness than his brethren in appropriating to himself such possessions as he could persuade the young king.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



to grant, or could extort from the minor and less powerful abbeys; though it should be said in his defence, that it was rather his church, than himself, which he desired to enrich, and that he disposed of much of the wealth, which he thus acquired, in the foundation or augmentation of religious institutions. In 1063, he had procured from the crown, the annexation, to his diocese, of the monastery of Malmedy, a foundation which he, by this arbitrary proceeding, severed from its legitimate dependence on the larger abbey, founded by St. Remaclus, at Stablo<sup>1</sup>. This infringement of ancient rights was, however, earnestly resisted by the abbot of the latter place; who, during eight years, in spite of menaces and ill-treatment, maintained his claim to the undisturbed enjoyment of his right; and, by his management, the affair was at length concluded by a most singular, and to Hanno most disgraceful, scene. The king, when applied to, had been afraid to move in the matter against one of Hanno's authority. The pope had given a decision in the abbot's favour; but even his command had failed to reduce the archbishop to relinquish the coveted possession: the authority of the canonized founder was appealed to in vain, and Hanno declared to the abbot, who knelt before him, that he would not resign Malmedy, even though the holy Remaclus should himself rise from the tomb to demand it.

The last words inspired the abbot with a sudden thought, which he availed himself of the first favourable opportunity to put in execution. This was presented by the king's visit, in the spring of 1071, to the neigh-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab. ad ann. 1063 et 1071.—Diploma Henrici IV. (V.) Imperatoris in vet. monument. Stabulens. Monaster. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. ii. p. 82.



bouring city of Liege<sup>1</sup>. As Henry sat at a solemn banquet, with the archbishop at his side, the doors were suddenly thrown open, and the abbot and monks of Stablo entered in procession, bearing with them the coffin which contained the relics of the canonized founder of Malmedy, which they deposited before the astonished king upon the regal table. "Behold!" they said, "Remaclus comes from the grave to demand "his own! If thou carest not for the children, reverence the founder and the father, who now lives "and reigns with Christ, and daily lays the wrongs "which he suffers in us before the throne above<sup>2</sup>." The confusion which ensued may be imagined; Henry was abashed and irresolute; his queen burst into tears; but the enraged archbishop called on the king to countenance no longer by his presence this mad proceeding; and the monarch and his suite retired in haste. The populace, aware of the arrival of the venerated relics, now thronged the deserted banquet-room; the sick and the infirm pushed eagerly forward to touch the sacred depository which contained them, and deemed, as they did so, that they felt their health and strength return. The whole town was in a rapture of enthusiasm, and the name of St. Remaclus resounded, amid shouts of transport, to the skies. Informed of these proceedings, the king sent to command the removal of the body from the banqueting-hall to the neighbouring church. The monks, however, declined to obey the command; and those who by the royal order attempted to enforce it,—awed by the general clamour, or participating in the general feeling,—declared themselves unable to remove the coffin from its place. The next day its bearers

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

authorized its removal; but in the church, as in the hall, it was surrounded by enthusiastic votaries: the rumour of one miracle rapidly succeeded that of another<sup>1</sup>; the city continued in a state of high and feverish excitement; and, as the archbishop, unmoved by all these things, expressed his firm determination to retain the property, and chastise the audacious monks who resisted his claim, the king at length declared to him, that if he did not resign Malmedy, he should himself be compelled to wrest it from him. Hanno then, though ungraciously, yielded; the monastery in dispute was restored to its original possessor; the victorious monks bore back the relics of their founder, amidst songs of praise and thanksgiving, and the acclamations of a venerating people; and the transaction has ever since held a prominent place in legendary lore, under the name of the Triumph of St. Remaclus<sup>2</sup>.

Amid scenes indicative of such general rapacity and corruption, it was but too natural that the young king should be led to join in that traffic in holy things which seemed to him universal. He submitted to enter into a negotiation with Rupert, abbot of Bamberg; a man, who from his sordid habits and incessant labour in the accumulation of money, had obtained the surname of

<sup>1</sup> *Tanta circum sanctum corpus coruscabat miraculorum multitudo, ut corporali quodammodo proclamatione videretur beatus Remaclus jus suum expostulare. Lamb.—Tanta confestim subsequuta est gratia, ut manus ac pedes contracti solverentur, orbatae mulieris oculi aperirentur, elecelluti cujusdam pedes distorti relocarentur . . . Fit enarrabilis populi commotio, cantat ecclesia, contremiscit aula, rex accurrit anhelus, bona quæ abstulerat sanctissimo corpori, utrisque representat manibus.—Epistola D. Episcopi ad J. Episcopum ap. Martene, Coll. Ampliss. t. i. p. 489.*

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



Nummularius<sup>1</sup>, of which the object was the expulsion of the virtuous abbot Widerad, from the monastery of Fulda, with a view to Rupert's appointment to that station in his place. The firm resistance, however, of some of the parties concerned, who withstood the king to his face, rendered the execution of this project impracticable. But when Meinwerd, the abbot of Reichenau<sup>2</sup>, was induced, partly through the royal importunity, to withdraw from the cares of his station, the king at once nominated the unworthy Rupert his successor, receiving from him a considerable sum as the price of the appointment. And from this inauspicious beginning, according to Lambert, it came to pass that abbeys, as they became vacant, were publicly put up to sale in the palace<sup>3</sup>, the monarch, instead of setting himself, as his father had done, in open opposition to the disgraceful traffic, by which the western Church in general, and that of Germany in particular, had been so long and so universally corrupted, sanctioning and systematizing it by his example<sup>4</sup>.

Bad, however, as the times of Henry IV. were, they differed in one material respect from those in which emperors had sold bishoprics, bishops subordinate stations in the Church, and laymen the benefices to which they possessed the prescriptive right of appoint-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—vulgo, “der Pfenning-Sammler.” Monaster. German. Chronolog. a Gaspar. Brusch.

<sup>2</sup> or Augia Dives, near Constance. Vid. Brusch. Chronolog. ut supra.

<sup>3</sup> Proprio hujus invento, novo atque infausto hujus aucupio, hæc in ecclesiam introducta est consuetudo, ut abbatiae publicè venales prostituantur in palatio.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.



ment, without fear of opposition or dread of shame<sup>1</sup>. When St. Romuald, who died in 1027, had spoken, to religious persons, of simony as a sin; so deadened had they become, through custom, to the atrocity of the practice, that he seemed to them to speak a strange thing, to inculcate overstrained and fanciful notions<sup>2</sup>. But the principle, to which Romuald thus bore an apparently solitary testimony, had since his death been widely, though slowly, diffusing itself. The aspirations had now become audible, of those who—oppressed by the gloom which had settled over the Church during the long lapse of the tenth century,—were wont to sigh for the dawning of a brighter day. Against simony had been directed, as we have seen, the first steps of the advancing reformation<sup>3</sup>. And the decrees of Clement's council of 1047 at Rome, and of Henry's of the same year in Germany<sup>4</sup>, were the types and forerunners of a series of similar enactments by which that guilty practice

<sup>1</sup> Theutonici reges perversum dogma sequentes  
Templa dabant summi Domini sæpissime nummis  
Præsulibus cunctis, sed et omnis episcopus urbis  
Plebes vendebat, quas sub se quisque regebat :  
Exemplo quorum, manibus necnon laicorum  
Ecclesiæ Christi vendebantur maledictis  
Presbyteris, cleris, quod erat confusio plebis.

Donizo in vita Matild. i. c. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Novam rem . . . Per totam namque illam monarchiam, usque ad Romualdi tempora, vulgatâ consuetudine, vix quisquam noverat simoniacam hæresim esse peccatum.—Damiani Vita S. Romualdi, c. xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> The definition of that crime was, in the language of its impugnors, so far extended as to include the obtaining benefices by undue obsequiousness or adulation, as well as by positive purchase. "Ut tria dicantur esse munerum genera, scilicet munus a manu, munus ab obsequio, munus a linguâ."—Damiani Opusc. xxii. c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. supra, pp. 121, 122, 131, 132.

was branded and forbidden. These enactments were, it is true, in point of general operation, comparatively powerless. The evil had too deeply rooted itself, too extensively entwined itself with the habits of society, to be easily, or suddenly, eradicated. The effects of Henry III.'s example ceased, in great measure, upon his death. And when his successor, misled by the thoughtlessness of his character, and by the unhappy circumstances of his education, reverted to the bad precedents of earlier times, and sanctioned the unholy barter in question by his habitual practice, the evil seemed to revive in all its former strength, and became, to common observers, as firmly rooted as ever.

But this was not in truth the case.—That the practice should have been publicly condemned, was in itself a great point gained; little as might be, for a time, the direct result of the condemnation. In defiance of that stigma, the practice might continue; but it could no longer receive, as it had previously done, the unquestioned sanction of society; it could no longer be classed among transactions of a legitimate and ordinary kind, in the received code of morality; nor could he who denounced it be charged, as Romuald had been, with setting forth strange notions, or with entertaining overstrained and fanciful ideas of Christian duty.

The young king therefore, in following the unhappy course into which circumstances led him, was not acting,—as he probably seemed to himself to be,—in compliance with the universal habits of his time. His conduct accorded with the opinions and feelings of great numbers, but could not accurately be said to have public opinion on its side. In its adoption, he was arraying himself in opposition to a great and recognized principle, a principle which had now its



zealous and active adherents scattered over the whole face of his empire, and which, in addition to all this, had that moral strength which ever attends the right. And this circumstance,—closed as their eyes, in great measure, were to the real nature of their position,—may perhaps account for the wanton shamelessness, the utter contempt of decency, with which the traffic in holy things was at length carried on by Henry IV. and his followers: appearances symptomatic of a consciousness that such a traffic was a scandal and a reproach, which, carried on as it might be, would still be denounced as an offence by the strict and the pure; and of a consequent desire to support themselves, and to encourage each other, by braving and defying that public opinion, which it had become impossible to conciliate.

And such a line of conduct as this the monarch could not adopt, without becoming, in some degree, the avowed supporter of other practices, indulged in by the simoniacal clergy, but reprobated by their opponents; without giving his countenance to the gross and licentious habits of the worldly and the impure, as well as to the profane cupidity of the money changers in the temple. The ascetic strictness of the new reformers was as much dreaded by the one of these classes, as was their hostility to simony by the other. And both alike sought, in the monarch's court, a support against the reprobation, and a shelter from the persecution, of these unwelcome innovators.

Had, therefore, the misguided prince been ordained to triumph, in the great struggle which was now approaching; had he, while contending thus directly in the cause of evil, been destined to subdue, as he subsequently attempted, the opposition of the Church to his



imperial will; firmly to establish himself as her feudal master; and to make of her recognised head,—of the sole existing representative of independent episcopal authority,—his subservient creature; the consequences to Religion must have been such as it is fearful to contemplate. Far worse than subjection to a barbarous and pagan tyrant, who could but have persecuted her, would have been the Church's thralldom to a professedly Christian monarch, who was pledged systematically to corrupt her; whose cause was identified with that of simony,—of impurity,—of opposition to all internal ecclesiastical reform; and whose power, in the growing vigour of the feudal system, possessed a principle of consolidation and permanence, unknown to the tyrannies which in former ages had afflicted her. But the permission of a triumph so baleful did not accord with the high counsels of Heaven.

The contest between Alexander and Cadalous,—a contest which may be described as imaging forth, and in a manner anticipating, the greater conflict which was to follow,—had, among its other great, and, at the time, imperfectly appreciated results, given much strength to the cause of ecclesiastical reform throughout the West, by directing the minds of men to the consideration of the great principles, which the reformers asserted, as to that of practical questions, intimately connected with the events then in progress around them. Many who, from indolence or other causes, would have turned away, with apathy or distaste, from the contemplation of points of a confessedly speculative nature, were led to investigate with curiosity, and even with eagerness, principles, on which depended the issue of a general struggle, and the rights of contending pontiffs to the papal chair. And when the assertor of forgotten truths or principles has

once induced mankind to recognize them as important, and as deserving of consideration, his principal difficulty is surmounted.

Many, too, who had already given a tacit assent and approval to the principles of reform now canvassed, were likely to be converted, by the same contest, into their active and determined assertors. A man not accustomed,—as a large portion of mankind are not,—to contemplate his principles in the abstract, does not, for the most part, feel himself really committed to a cause, until he has acted upon it. It then assumes a reality,—a tangibility,—in his eyes, with which years of passive speculation would never have invested it. He has, in acting, illustrated to himself that which he has asserted to others. He has connected himself with others likeminded with him, and strengthened himself by discovering the correspondence of their sentiments with his own. His reputation, too, for consistency, has now, as he may perceive, come to depend in some degree on the continuance of his exertions; and having become, in a public way, the member of a species of party, he begins to entertain, though perhaps unconsciously, the feeling that from that party's success or failure some portion of honour or of shame will, in the opinion of those around him, redound to himself.

A further consequence of the same struggle, was the concentration of the reformers of the period into one body, under one common head. During the reign of Henry III., among those who saw the abuses of the time, and panted for their removal, some looked to the papal counsels and authority for the conduct of the reformation, but others anticipated the accomplishment of their wishes from the principles and energy of the German sovereign. Henry had, in fact, been the

liberator of the holy see itself from a preceding tyranny. The pontiffs, whom he had selected to fill it, had borne testimony, by their exemplary characters, to the purity of his intentions; and when they laboured in the cause of reform, he had been generally ready to second and support them with the full weight of his authority. This disposition, coupled with the extent and solidity of his power, might well induce many to think they saw, in his supremacy, the firmest basis for the fabric of reformation which they wished to raise. While, therefore, some churchmen were striving to strengthen, by all practicable means, the hands of the prelate in whom the Western Church had, as it were, concentrated the whole of her inherent, self-regulating, authority, others, influenced by motives as pure, were labouring in an opposite direction, and lending their aid to consolidate the system, which bound her in unqualified subjection to a secular master. But the turn taken by events on Henry's death did much to change the views of this latter class of reformers, and to open their eyes to the error which they had committed in grounding their confidence rather on the personal character of an individual than on the enduring agency of a principle. The moment which closed the well-intentioned monarch's eyes, put a stop to the progress of ecclesiastical reform under the auspices of the throne. And the great contest, by which that event was so speedily followed, showed that the almost despotic power over the Church, which he had acquired for his family, might be used in opposition to, as well as in advancement of, her holiness and purity. The cause of Cadalous, as we have seen, was that of the lax prelates of northern Italy, and of all those, wherever situated, to whom the progress of ecclesiastical reform was a



subject of aversion or dread. The great body of these, the imperial court arrayed around itself, as the supporters of its quarrel; nor could it do this, without driving, as though by a natural repulsion, the assertors of opposite principles from its side. From this time, therefore, no great discordancy of opinion could separate from each other the sincere reformers of the West. All who wished to extirpate the vice of simony from the sacred precincts of the Church; all who desired to substitute, for the licentiousness by which the clerical body was so generally disgraced, an ascetic purity; found themselves thenceforward compelled to look for guidance and support from the Lateran, and from the Lateran alone. And the contest had no sooner been concluded, than Alexander, strong in the moral support of a party so extended and so influential, found himself able, in his intercourse with the great prelates of the empire, to address them in a tone of authority, to which his predecessors had for many years been unaccustomed. The projected dissolution of Henry's marriage had given him, as we have seen, a cause for exerting that authority under most favourable circumstances; and the deference paid on that occasion to his envoy, and the weight accorded by public feeling to his decision, encouraged him to proceed in asserting and illustrating the prerogatives of his station. In the year following that of Damiani's embassy to Germany, he ventured to summon to Rome, Hanno himself and Siegfried, who had both been accused before him of simoniacal, or irregular, conduct;<sup>1</sup> nor did either of these metropolitans venture to disregard the summons; the archbishop of Cologne thus presenting himself, as a sus-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb.

pected criminal, before him, upon whose title he had so lately sat himself in judgment, at Mantua. The uncanonical proceedings of both the archbishops were too notorious to admit of denial. Hanno, in aiming at what appeared to him virtuous ends, had too often forgotten to restrict himself to lawful means of attaining them; and Siegfried, weak in principle, and unsteady in character, was not a man to form, or to adopt for himself, a standard of morality different from that which was generally recognized by society around him. It was not, however, either the wish or the policy of Alexander to treat with severity the exalted criminals, who, by their appearance, when summoned, had paid a most acceptable homage to the apostolic see. Having, therefore, sharply censured them for the past, and demanded from them an oath to abstain from all simoniacal practice for the future, he treated them with many signs of favour, and at length honourably dismissed them<sup>1</sup>.

Siegfried, roused to a momentary impulse of good feeling, by the manner in which Alexander brought the memory of his past transgressions before him, and taught to view those transgressions in a new light, by his intercourse with those by whom they were generally reprobated, gave utterance to the wish, that he might resign the dignified station which he held, and retire to a life of penitence and seclusion<sup>2</sup>. The pope,

<sup>1</sup> According to Lambert, the bishop of Bamberg, who accompanied the metropolitans under the same charges with themselves, found means, by costly presents, not only to appease the anger of his judge, but to obtain the pallium and other honours of an archbishop from the holy see. But the story, in its details at least, scarcely consists with the general account of the transaction, or with the usual conduct of Alexander or his advisers.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



however, and all others who were present, strenuously opposed the execution of the project; and Siegfried returned to Germany, and to the duties of his station<sup>1</sup>. In that country, the impressions which he had received at Rome soon became less vivid on his mind. Returning to the associations and connections, he resumed also the habits, of his former years; and though, amid this relapse, the idea which he had expressed at Rome sometimes recurred to his mind, and induced him, in 1072, suddenly to fly from the city which he governed, and to take refuge by stealth within the walls of Cluni, yet he was soon prevailed upon by the entreaty of his flock to return to the world<sup>2</sup>. Nor does it appear that these transient emotions of penitence or shame produced any marked effect, either upon his personal habits, or upon the course of his public policy. He still pursued, with unabated eagerness, the enforcement of his demands upon Thuringia; though in this, as in all other proceedings, he now felt the expediency, or rather the necessity, of acting in apparent concert with the Roman pontiff, and showing all possible public deference to his apostolical authority.

The letter addressed by him, in consequence of this dispute, to Alexander, in 1073, is curious, both as showing the state of full developement at which the theory of papal supremacy had now arrived, and as illustrating the true nature of the causes by which the reception of that theory throughout Europe had been most effectually advanced. Feeling that his antagonists would more readily defer to the authority of the apostolic see than to his own, Siegfried addresses

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.—Marian. Scot.—Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, N. cxxxiv.



Alexander as one in whose gift, as in that of St. Peter, were the crowns both of Germany and of the empire. He beseeches the Pontiff to assist him with the sword of the Holy Spirit, and, if possible, to send legates from Rome, to a synod then about to be holden, that they might preside over it, and close the business in a canonical way; or, if that might not be, that he would by an official act give the synod his sanction, and pronounce against the rebellious Thuringians the censures of the Church<sup>1</sup>.

It would be tedious here to recapitulate all the other instances, which might be cited, of papal interference with the German Church, between the years 1069, and that in which Alexander II. died, 1073. The reader may well suppose, that the authority which the mighty metropolitans of Cologne and Mentz were afraid to disobey, would not often be slighted by prelates or churchmen of minor dignity and influence. While, therefore, the king, in his reckless career, was offending his nobles, alienating his friends, and disgusting the great mass of his subjects, that pontifical authority, upon which he looked with contempt, was acquiring fresh strength and consolidation with every year; and creating, indeed, for itself such elements of vigour as, till the yet future moment of crisis came, neither its supporters nor its antagonists could adequately appreciate. In the year following that of the visit of the German metropolitans to Rome, two archbishops from another, and a more distant, land, did homage by their presence and obeisance to the apostolic see<sup>2</sup>. The celebrated Lanfranc, one of the most distinguished men of his day for talent and literary attainments, had been placed by

<sup>1</sup> Udalric. Babenberg. Codex, N. cxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb.—Roger de Hoveden. *Annal.* pt. prior.

William the Conqueror on the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury<sup>1</sup>; and according to usage applied to Rome for that confirmation of his appointment which the pontiffs were wont to confer by the gift of the pallium<sup>2</sup>, or vest of archiepiscopal dignity. In old times the archbishops elect had solicited this favour in person of the apostolic see, and though the practice of late—except in special cases, like that of Aldred,—had been discontinued, Hildebrand saw too well its importance to the papal interests, not to resolve upon attempting its restoration. He therefore undertook the charge of replying to Lanfranc's request, and, in a letter to that prelate, expressed, in the strongest terms, his regret that it could not be complied with. Could any case, he said, have authorized a departure from the proper practice, Lanfranc, deserving as he was of the regard of the papal see, should undoubtedly have received the favour in question, without having to solicit it. But it was most essential that the old rule should be restored and maintained. The holy see was anxious too, on various points, for the benefit of the English archbishop's counsels. It was

<sup>1</sup> Lanfranc was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, Aug. 29, 1070. Vid. Canonic. Lichfeldens. indicul. de succession. archiep. Cantuar. Anglia Sacra, t. i. p. 108. Vid. Willielm. Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. lib. i.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the pallium see Ziegler. de Episcop. c. x. Clement II., in giving it to an archbishop of Salerno said, "Quia de vellere ovis est, intellige te ovium pastorem. Et quia eo circumcingeris, et etiam circa humeros portas, cognoscas et undique circumspicias ne aliqua erret, et in morsus incidat luporum. Quod si aliquando, quod absit, contigerit, eam habeas in humeros ad caulam reportare, et pristinae societati coadunare. Quod vero ante et retro crux Domini habetur: illud apostolicum semper docet ante oculos tuæ mentis habere: mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo." Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 923.



hoped, therefore, that, by complying with the directions which papal envoys were commissioned to bear to him, he would adopt a line of conduct meet for a dear son of the Church and a pious member of the clerical order<sup>1</sup>. This epistle produced its intended effect; and in 1071 Lanfranc, with Thomas, who had been promoted, in 1070<sup>2</sup>, to the metropolitan see of York, presented himself in due form before the apostolic threshold, where Alexander received him with most distinguished honour. As Lanfranc approached, the pontiff paid him the unusual compliment of rising from his seat to meet him, declaring at the same time that he did so in honour, not of his archiepiscopal dignity, but of his character as a master in literature<sup>3</sup>. "And now," he continued, "that I have paid its due to honour, do thou the same to justice, and prostrate thyself, after the manner of all archbishops, before the feet of the vicar of St. Peter<sup>4</sup>." Lanfranc hesitated not to comply;—and Alexander not only bestowed upon him the pallium, which he had come to seek, but also presented him, as a mark of his private friendship, with another vestment of the same kind, in which he had been accustomed himself to officiate at the holy Eucharist<sup>5</sup>. And, as some question arose with respect to the validity of the consecration of Thomas of York, as well as of Remigius of Lincoln, by whom the English metropolitans had been accompanied on their journey, the pontiff, as the highest possible compliment to the favoured Lanfranc, placed

<sup>1</sup> Baron. Annal. ad an. 1070.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malmesb.

<sup>3</sup> Hanc venerationem non se illius archiepiscopatus, sed magisterio literarum deferre. Willielm. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. lib. i. p. 117. edit. Savil.

<sup>4</sup> Will. Malmesb. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Id.



the destiny of his companions in his hands. From him they received again the rings and staves which they had surrendered; and then returned in his company to their native country. And though Alexander declined to decide the long controverted question of precedence between the sees of York and Canterbury; which he referred to the arbitration of the sovereign and prelates of England<sup>1</sup>; he conferred such powers on Lanfranc, as rendered him the virtual head of the English Church, and the permanent representative of the pontifical authority<sup>2</sup>.

Of that authority Lanfranc continued, as might have been expected, the firm adherent and assertor. The following passages, in which this English primate speaks of the Roman patriarch's power, may well be alluded to, in connexion with the letter, just cited, of the metropolitan of Germany, as showing how ready the most exalted members of the Western hierarchy now were, to consider that the proper prerogatives of the episcopate were concentrated, by divine appointment, in the Roman patriarch, as sole successor of St. Peter:—

“When our Lord and Saviour,” says Lanfranc, “said  
“to St. Peter, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I  
“will build my Church; and I will give unto thee the  
“keys of the kingdom of heaven,’ he might, had it so  
“pleased Him, have added, ‘the like power I grant to  
“thy successors.’ But the omission of such words in  
“no wise diminishes the dignity of the successors of  
“that apostle. Do you gainsay this? Do you advance  
“any thing in opposition to it? It is impressed on the

<sup>1</sup> By whom it was subsequently decided in a council at Windsor, Vid. Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Regum, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Alex. II. ep. x. ap. Harduin.—Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Regum, lib. iii.

“consciences of all Christians that, no less than if the  
 “acts were those of St. Peter himself, they should  
 “tremble when his successors threaten, and reverently  
 “rejoice when they show themselves serene<sup>1</sup>. And  
 “then only is the arrangement of any ecclesiastical  
 “matters ratified and binding, when the successors of  
 “St. Peter have given it their sanction. And what  
 “causes this but the power of the divine grace, diffused,  
 “through the Lord Jesus, from St. Peter among his  
 “vicars<sup>2</sup>?”

In France, in Spain, and in other countries, Alexander endeavoured, by the mission of legates and other means, to advance his plans of ecclesiastical reform, and to maintain his authority; and, while the papacy thus grew in strength abroad, the death,—in December 1069, —of Godfrey of Tuscany<sup>3</sup>, may be considered an event favourable to the consolidation of its power in Italy; the sovereignty of an important province thus passing from the hands of an uncertain and temporizing supporter of the papal cause,—whose zeal was ever suspected, and whose friendship itself was dangerous,—into those of firm and devoted adherents to the Church and her recognized head; for such were Beatrice and her daughter Matilda, to whom the government of Tuscany now mainly reverted. By his first marriage, Godfrey had a son, named like himself; a prince, who,

<sup>1</sup> Ut nihilominus quam B. Petro, successoribus ejus et minantibus attremant, et serenam dignitatem indulgentibus gaudenter applaudant.

<sup>2</sup> “Quid illud agit, nisi vis divinæ liberalitatis per Dominum Jesum a beato Petro in vicarios ejus diffusa?”—Baron. Annal. ad an. 1072. N. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Andaginens. Monaster. ap. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 941.

though small in stature, and disfigured by the personal defect from which he derived the surname "*il Gobbo* <sup>1</sup>," possessed in a high degree the talents requisite for civil and military command. Godfrey the younger succeeded his father in the duchy of Lorraine; and, by virtue of a marriage contracted, under his father's auspices, with Matilda <sup>2</sup>, to his Tuscan titles also. But the union thus formed, was an ill-assorted and unhappy one. It is doubtful whether Godfrey was ever more to Matilda than a husband in name; and it is certain that, after some little time, differences arose between the two, which estranged them from each other, and which ended in Godfrey's chiefly occupying himself in Lorraine, and abandoning to his wife and her mother the exclusive administration of the Cisalpine territories of their house <sup>3</sup>.

Matilda, subsequently known to her contemporaries and to posterity by the appellation of "the Great Countess," was one of the most remarkable characters of the middle ages. She adorned her high station by her distinguished talents, and by the results of her learned education. Amid the various occupations, connected with the administration of her extensive territories, she found time and opportunity to become the encourager, and in some degree the restorer, of ancient literature. She was acquainted with the more recent languages spoken in France and Germany, as well as in her own country. She was active and energetic in the enforcement of justice, and the maintenance of her

<sup>1</sup> Godefridus Gibbosus, etsi corpore exiguus, tamen animo eximius. Sigeb. Gemblac.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Andaginens. Monaster. ap. Marten. et Durand. Coll. Ampliss. t. iv. p. 940. Vid. Baron. ad an. 1074. nn. 20 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Hist. Andaginensis Monast. p. 943.



authority over her subjects; nor was she unequal to the task of eliciting the military resources of her territory, and bringing well-disciplined armies into the field. She was munificently charitable to the poor; systematically kind and hospitable to the exile and to the stranger; and the foundress, or benefactress, of a variety of churches or conventual institutions. Through all the various scenes of her eventful life, she never suffered secular affairs to interfere with the frequency, or regularity, of her exercises of devotion; and, in the hours of darkness and adversity, which were destined to form no inconsiderable portion of her period of earthly probation, she found her truest consolation in the society of holy men, and in the perusal of the holy Scriptures; which she is said to have understood better than many bishops of her time.

Such was "the Great Countess;" such was she who, too proud or too humble to recapitulate the roll of her titles, was wont to subscribe herself, "Matilda, by the grace of God what I am<sup>1</sup>." Educated as she had been, by her mother's care, in habits of devotion, her ardent spirit, as the great conflict of her time deepened around her, embraced the quarrel of the menaced Church with a chivalrous enthusiasm. The moral dignity of Hildebrand, as he came forward as the great champion of that quarrel, commanded her admiration; she conceived for his high character a deep reverential feeling, such as none but characters proportionably exalted could entertain; and her talents, her energies, her influence, her

MA	TIL
DA	DEI
GRA	SI
QD	EST
	+

<sup>1</sup> "Matilda Dei gratiâ id quod sum;" The last words being sometimes substituted, "quidquid est," and sometimes "si quid est."—Fiorentini, *Memorie della gran Contessa Matilda*, l. ii. p. 340.

treasures, were, throughout her life, devoted to the support of his power, or to the furtherance of the principles which he maintained.

The year 1072 was destined to close the laborious and ascetic career of Peter Damiani<sup>1</sup>. Henry, archbishop of Ravenna, a partizan of the pretender Cadalous, had died in a state of excommunication, and had left his church in a state of lamentable confusion. The mission of a legate thither was therefore deemed expedient by the conclave of the Lateran; and Damiani, though aged and worn with austerities, readily undertook the laborious commission, and executed it with success. But, on his return, while halting at a monastery just without the gates of Faenza, he was seized by a fever, which rapidly subdued his already exhausted strength, and finally terminated his earthly existence on the 22d of February<sup>2</sup>.

Dying at this epoch, Damiani had lived long enough to see the cause, to which his life had been devoted, crowned with a degree of success which, in the early portion of his career, he could scarcely have contemplated. He had seen the great abuses of his time publicly and repeatedly condemned, and,—by the downfall of Cadalous,—in a manner overthrown: while, through the same event, the papacy,—to the power of which he had ever looked, as to the surest guarantee for a complete reformation,—had been established in a condition of strength and independence, to which it had long been a stranger. But, had the life of this great reformer been prolonged but a few months, he would

<sup>1</sup> Berthold. Constant. ad an.—Baronii Annales.—Constantini Abbatis Caietani in Regulam Petri de Honestis præfatio.

<sup>2</sup> Vita B. Petri Damiani per Joannem Monachum, c. xxii.



have seen that authority exerted in a yet bolder manner, than it had ever been permitted to him to witness. For some part of the early summer of 1072 was spent by Alexander II. at Lucca, in the company of Beatrice and her daughter Matilda. These princesses, nearly connected with Henry by blood, lamented his course of life<sup>1</sup>, on the grounds at once of public principle and of personal affection; and were anxious for the trial of any experiment, which held out a chance of bringing him to reflection and amendment. And the pontiff, influenced by their entreaties, and confiding, as well in their assured support, as in the general reverence now paid to his authority, resolved to venture upon speaking, in the most solemn tone of warning and reproof, to the monarch himself<sup>2</sup>. At a council, therefore, holden at Rome, in February, 1073, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication, against such of Henry's favoured companions as were the most notoriously contaminated by the vicious practices of the day<sup>3</sup>; and charged the German prelates who were present, to bear a letter to the king, to the effect,—according to some authorities,—that he should forthwith appear before the throne of St. Peter, and defend himself against the charges of simony and other offences, which had been brought against him<sup>4</sup>. This letter, however, has not been preserved to us; and the silence

<sup>1</sup> Tristes inde satis Mathildis erantque Beatrix  
Quæ sub Alexandro Papa stabant venerando.

Donizo de vita Mathild. l. i. c. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Fiorentini, an. 1072.—Donizo.

<sup>3</sup> Bonizo.

<sup>4</sup> Anno et Hermannus . . . legatione peractâ, reversi, literas Alexandri apostolici detulerunt regem vocantes Romam ad satisfaciendum pro simoniacâ hæresi. Abbas Urspr.—Otto Frising.—Chronograph. Saxo.



of other writers respecting a document so extraordinary, seems to contradict the details, at least, of this statement; though we can hardly suppose, that such a step as the excommunication of his counsellors, would be unaccompanied by a direct and severe message of rebuke to the monarch himself, whose reformation was avowedly the main object of the proceeding.

Even such a step as this,—unused as the minds of men now were to such exertions of pontifical authority,—could not, under ordinary circumstances, have been taken, without arousing, in Germany, a strong feeling of indignant loyalty in the monarch's support, guilty as he might be. But Henry had now proceeded so far, in the work of alienating from himself the affections of all classes of his subjects, that the pontifical rebuke to himself, and public excommunication of his most familiar friends, was received with apathy, and excited no re-action of any kind in his favour; a circumstance which,—if he gave himself the time to reflect upon it,—could scarce fail to show him the magnitude of the dangers to which he stood exposed, and the critical nature of his situation.

But, whatever may have been his thoughts or intentions, when first informed of these proceedings of the pontiff, an event soon occurred, which relieved him, for the moment, from the necessity of further consideration of them. Alexander II., on the 21st of April, 1073, breathed his last<sup>1</sup>. His summons, if such indeed had been issued, fell consequently to the ground; his rebukes were no longer supported by his personal influence or authority; and Henry, in his joy at what he considered his deliverance from an embarrassment, soon

<sup>1</sup> Marian. Scot.—Vid. Pagi, in Baron. ad an. 1073. § iii.

forgot whatever resolutions of amendment his momentary difficulties might have forced upon his mind.

Alexander II., thus closing his career, left behind him a truly honourable name. During the whole of his pontificate, he had maintained the character of a true churchman, and of a consistent reformer of the evils of his time. In conjunction with Hildebrand, he had steadily and perseveringly laboured, in the gradual developement of those principles of ecclesiastical liberty and unity, to which that ardent mind had devoted its extraordinary powers. And, if the fact of his habitual deference to so highly-gifted an adviser, should diminish in some degree our conceptions of the firmness and originality of Alexander's character, we should not refuse its due meed of praise to the discernment, which led the pontiff to see, and to avail himself of, the talents and energies of that distinguished guide.

It would, at the same time, be an injustice to the memory of Alexander, were we to regard him as the mere tool or instrument of Hildebrand or his party. He was, rather, the participator in their views; their associate in the great work to which their labours were directed; nor could he have forwarded that work as he did, had he not possessed a fervent zeal, an active mind, and a determined spirit. He was pure in his habits of life, courteous and amiable in his manners, and of a gentle and benevolent disposition. The last quality he evinced by the manner in which, on more occasions than one, he pleaded the cause of mercy toward the Jews<sup>1</sup>; a people who were then in too many parts of Europe the objects of systematic persecution and slaughter. He sank, ultimately, to the

<sup>1</sup> Alex. II. epp. apud Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. pp. 1100 et 1116.

grave, beloved by all around him ; it was said of him, that he found the Church a hand-maid, and left her free ; and the veneration with which he was generally regarded by his contemporaries, is testified by the legends which they have left us, of miracles which honoured his tomb.



## BOOK III.—CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1073.

DIFFERENT VIEWS OF THE PAPAL AND IMPERIAL PARTIES—ELECTION OF GREGORY VII.—HIS REPORTED MESSAGE TO HENRY IV.—HIS EPISTLE TO LANFRANC—COUNT EBERHARD'S EMBASSY TO ROME—HENRY'S APPROVAL OF THE ELECTION—SENTIMENTS OF CHURCHMEN ON THE SUBJECT OF INVESTITURE—MISSION OF HUGO CANDIDUS TO SPAIN—GREGORY'S EPISTLE TO THE GRANDEES OF THAT COUNTRY—TO GODFREY THE YOUNGER OF TUSCANY—TO BEATRICE AND MATILDA—HENRY'S EPISTLE TO GREGORY.

LOOKING, as we may now do, upon the times which have been treated of, with the light thrown upon them by subsequent events, we may easily see, though the fact may perhaps have escaped the notice of contemporary eyes, that the struggle with Cadalous,—ending as it had done,—contained in itself the seeds of a future and more momentous conflict. By the general recognition of Alexander II., the papal party had, in their own eyes, established the principles for which they had contended; but the imperial counsellors, in conceding the point in dispute, had, in all probability, seemed to themselves to be making a merely personal concession or compromise, by acquiescing in the pretensions of one individual claimant of the papal name to the derogation of those of another. The young Henry IV., and his courtiers, still conceived the general prerogatives of the crown over the Church and her pastors, to be those which Henry III. had established, or enjoyed. The

rule of things, in their eyes, was still that which the last mentioned monarch had illustrated at Sutri; and they were ready, by consequence, to regard as offences, or insults to the imperial dignity, all movements of the papacy inconsistent with that arrangement. The Roman conclave, on the other hand, appreciating, at least in part, the advantage which it had obtained, by its victory over the pretender of Parma, and by other occurrences of the last years, was now shaping its course, and fashioning its ideas, by rules adapted to this, its newly acquired position of comparative independence: so that,—to its members,—the monarch, even when proceeding in the accustomed course of his father, and of his grandsire, appeared as though attempting a series of unauthorized innovations and encroachments. Such a discrepancy of impressions as this could of itself scarcely fail to lead, ere long, these two great powers of western Christendom into hostile collision. And, while the wantonness with which the impetuous Henry asserted, in the most arbitrary manner, the imagined prerogatives of his crown, was calculated alike to accelerate, and to embitter, the struggle; the last modifications which the Church's constitution, in the hands of the pontiffs, had received, tended to place them in an attitude of more direct opposition to the imperial authority than they had previously occupied.

The process by which the papacy had originally attained its monarchical pre-eminence,—involving, as it did, a disregard to the rights and honours due to the episcopate in general,—naturally, or it may be said necessarily, led to the growth, in the Roman school, of another irreverence of a kindred nature; to an enfeeblement of the high spirit of Christian loyalty toward the secular sovereign. And, while every step by which, in com-

pliance with the feudalizing spirit of the time, the character of the Redeemer's unearthly kingdom was assimilated to that of a temporal, visible, monarchy, tended of course to confirm this evil bias, and to corroborate, in the successors of St. Peter, the habit of regarding themselves rather as rivals, than as subjects, of the anointed bearers of the civil sword; the result of Leo's campaign against the Normans had now exhibited to the world, in a public manner, the realization of that papal view of feudalism and of the Church, which represented the latter as the superior, and not the vassal, in the constitutional system of political gradations.

That view, strange as it deservedly appears to us, should in fact, advanced when it was, be rather regarded as the modification of an erroneous doctrine already in vogue, than as the introduction of a new error into the popular creed. Nay, as opposed to the theory which was in fact its opponent in the times of which we treat, it may be regarded as the expression of a truth. All parties, in those times, seemed to concur in the notions, that the collective episcopal authority of the Church was primarily lodged in the single hands of the Roman bishop; and that such authority, being in great measure a power of the same kind with earthly sovereignty, was, of necessity, to occupy a definite place in that constitutional system of the empire, the leading principle of which was the derivation of all privilege in each subordinate rank, from the rank or ranks above it. And the modification, which these tenets received in the hands of assertors of the papal power, was this, that, according to them, the place of the prelate in question, if he were indeed to take his place on a step of the feudal scale, must be that of supremacy, not of



subordination; that the Church,—if she were not to be recognized as the possessor of a distinct, an independent, authority,—if she were to be linked, intimately and inseparably, with the state, so that the one of these two powers must needs, in the language of that day, hold its prerogatives of the other,—might, with justice, claim to be the mistress, not the vassal; the sovereign, not the subject. Their assertions, in short, were conclusions which were legitimately deduced from premises admitted by their opponents as well as by themselves; and the blots by which their system, as it developed itself, was disfigured and disgraced, were the results rather of these general misconceptions, than of their own peculiar deductions from them. It was not for these defects that they fought, or that they conquered; and the imperfect, the unsatisfactory, consequences of their final victory, far from inclining us to regard them as champions of falsehood or error, should of right serve as an illustration, to us, of the extreme peril of a time, in which the Church's only defenders against an overwhelming danger, were themselves so deeply infected with the vicious principles, from which that peril arose, that their very success tended, in some respects, to perpetuate, rather than to abolish, the evils which they opposed. By their efforts, the Church was saved, "yet so as by fire;" and the brands and scars, which continued to disfigure her outward lineaments, were enduring memorials of the fury of the furnace from which she had been delivered.

But to return to our narration. Alexander II. had no sooner breathed his last, than his archdeacon, in concert with the other leading ecclesiastics of the city, directed that the three following days should be devoted to fasting, to deeds of charity, and to prayer;

after which the proper authorities were to proceed,—in the hope of the divine blessing upon their counsels,—to the election of a successor. But, long before the period thus prescribed had elapsed, that election was decided.

On the day following that of Alexander's decease, the dignified clergy of the Roman Church<sup>1</sup> stood, with the archdeacon, round the bier of the departed pontiff, in the patriarchal church of the Lateran<sup>2</sup>. The funeral rites were in progress; and Hildebrand, it is probable, was taking a leading part in the celebration of

<sup>1</sup> Sanctæ Romanæ catholicæ ecclesiæ cardinales, clerici, acolyti, subdiaconi, diaconi, presbyteri, præsentibus venerabilibus episcopis et abbatibus, clericis et monachis consentientibus, plurimis turbis utriusque sexus diversique ordinis acclamantibus.—Act. election. Greg. VII. citat. a Baron. ad an. 1073. n. 24; et vid. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1195.

<sup>2</sup> According to the act quoted in the last note, which is also cited by Paulus Bernriedensis and Pandulphus Pisanus, this scene took place in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula. Baronius however, from authorities found by him in the Vatican, describes it as having occurred in the Lateran, and he is followed by the Cardinal de Aragoniâ. But the most important evidence on the point is Gregory himself, who describes the transaction as taking place “in ecclesiâ Salvatoris” (Greg. Ep. lib. i. epp. 1-3.) an established synonyme of the Lateran. “Constantinus,” says Damiani, “patriarchium Lateranense in beati Salvatoris honore construxit.”—Discept. Synodal. ap. Conc. Osbor. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1122. “Ecclesia Lateranensis, quæ et Constantiniana et basilica Salvatoris diverso nomine nuncupatur.” Ex antiquo codice in Vaticano, ap. Baron. ad an. 1057. It may be that, at the close of the tumultuous proceeding in the Lateran, the cardinal clergy adjourned to St. Peter ad Vincula, formally to ratify and register the election; or perhaps, the idea of fixing the scene at the latter Church arose from the statement of Bonizo (p. 811), that Gregory was enthroned “ad Vincula Beati Petri, non ad Brixianorium;” by which the author meant, it seems, only to contrast the legality of this pontiff's election in the city of St. Peter, with the irregularity of that of an anti-pope then recently elected at Brixen, in the Tyrol.



these solemn ceremonies. But suddenly, from the body of the building, which had been filled to overflowing by the lower clergy and people, burst forth the cry of "Hildebrand." A thousand voices instantly swelled the sound. "Hildebrand shall be Pope." "St. Peter chuses our archdeacon Hildebrand." These, and cries like these, rang wildly along the Church; the ceremonies were interrupted, and the officiating clergy paused in suspense. The subject of this tumult, recovering from a momentary stupor, rushed into a pulpit, and thence, while his gestures implored silence, attempted to address the agitated assembly. But the attempt was vain; the uproar continued; and it was not until they perceived the cardinal presbyter Hugo Candidus<sup>1</sup> coming forward, and soliciting their attention, that the multitude suffered their cries to subside<sup>2</sup>.

"Brethren," said the Cardinal, "ye know, and, as it appears, ye acknowledge, that, from the time of our holy Father Leo, Hildebrand our archdeacon has proved himself a man of discretion and probity; that he has exalted the dignity of our Roman Church, and rescued our Roman city from most imminent dangers. We can find no man more fitting to be entrusted with the future defence of our Church or state; and we, the cardinal bishops<sup>3</sup>, do, with one voice, elect Hildebrand to be henceforth your spiritual pastor and our own<sup>4</sup>."

The joyous cries of the populace arose anew. The

<sup>1</sup> He was sometimes called "Albus." Vid. Dacher. *Spicileg.* t. i. 625. and sometimes "Blancus." Vid. Lamb. *ad an.* 1076.

<sup>2</sup> Card. Aragon. ap. Murator. *Rerum Ital. Script.* t. iii. pt. i. p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> "Cardinales Episcopi," but Hugo was himself only a presbyter.

<sup>4</sup> Card. Aragon.



cardinal bishops, and clergy, approached the object of their choice to lead him toward the apostolic throne. "We chuse," they cried to the people, "for our pastor and pontiff, a devout man; a man skilled in interpreting the Scriptures; a distinguished lover of equity and justice; a man firm in adversity, and temperate in prosperity; a man, according to the saying of the Apostle, of good behaviour, blameless, modest, sober, chaste, given to hospitality, and one that ruleth well his own house. A man from his childhood generously brought up in the bosom of this mother Church, and for the merit of his life already raised to the archidiaconal dignity. We chuse, namely, our archdeacon, Hildebrand, to be pope and successor to the apostle, and to bear henceforward and for ever, the name of Gregory." The pope elect, upon this, was forthwith invested by eager hands with the scarlet robe and tiara of pontifical dignity, and placed, notwithstanding his gestures of reluctance, and even his tears, upon the throne of the Apostle<sup>1</sup>. The cardinals approached him with obeisance, and the people with shouts yet louder and more

<sup>1</sup> *Indutus rubeâ chlamyde, sicut moris est, et Papali mythrâ insignitus, invitatus et mœrens, in Beati Petri cathedra fuit inthronizatus.*—Card. Aragon. *ut supra*.

The ceremony of inthronization always took place in the Lateran Church, though that of consecration was performed at St. Peter's. Pagi in Baron. ad an. 1049; and see the same critic, ad an. 1073, § v. According to Benzo, Panegy. in Hen. III. lib. vii. c. ii. the tiara with which Nicholas II. was crowned at Rome, and which was probably still in use in Gregory's pontificate, was in the form of a double crown, round the lower circle of which was engraved the motto "*Corona regni de manu Dei*;" and round the upper, "*Dia-dema imperii de manu Dei*." Hence, says Mansi, we learn that the use of the double circle in the papal crown is more ancient than learned men have thought. See note from Cantelius, above, book i. c. i. p. 60.

joyous than before, repeated the designation of their new pontiff, and tumultuously testified their approbation <sup>1</sup>.

And thus, on Monday, the 22nd of April, 1073 <sup>2</sup>, was Hildebrand, or, as we must henceforward style him, Gregory, elevated to the pinnacle of ecclesiastical dignity and power. Whether he had beforehand contemplated or wished such an event as his own election, must of course be, to us, a matter of uncertainty. It is, however, clear that he did not anticipate, what may be styled its premature occurrence, on the day on which it happened. The events of that day were of too irregular a nature to have accorded, precisely, with his wishes, or to permit us to suppose them, even if the supposition were otherwise admissible, the results of his previous arrangement. Nor on such a demonstration of popular feeling on his behalf, could he have, beforehand, any right to reckon. The stern austerity of his life and manners was not calculated to win for him the habitual favour of the multitude, even while it commanded their respect; and their conduct on this occasion was, it

<sup>1</sup> Quem amodo usque in sempiternum et esse et dici Gregorium Papam et Apostolicum volumus et approbamus. Placet vobis? Placet. Vultis eum? Volumus. Laudatis eum? Laudamus.—Act. Election. Vid. Baron. et Harduin. ut supra.—Continuo universitate cleri et populi acclamante, "Domnum Gregorium Papam S. Petrus elegit." Card. Aragon.

<sup>2</sup> Benno, a historian hostile to Gregory, avails himself of this date to assert that his election was uncanonical; because, according to him, the canons required three days to intervene between the death of one pope and the election of his successor. But to this charge Baronius replies, that the decree of Nicholas II., which was intended and understood completely to define the essentials of a valid election, contained no such enactment.



would seem, to be traced rather to an unusual, and as it were extorted, burst of the latter feeling, than to a natural effusion of the former.

The event of his election, unexpected as, at the moment, it unquestionably was, seems to have overwhelmed for a while even his intrepid spirit. In letters written from the couch on which, exhausted in mind and body, he passed the following day<sup>1</sup>, he speaks of it in terms of terror, and, using the poetical language of the psalms, exclaims, "I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying: my throat is dried<sup>2</sup>. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me<sup>3</sup>." And he concludes by anxiously imploring the intercessions of his friends, with Heaven, in his behalf; expressing a hope that their prayers, though they had not sufficed to prevent his being called to that post of danger, might yet avail to defend him when placed there.

The greatness and,—in the actual state of the world,—the daring nature, of the desires which animated him, and those with whom he had for some time been acting, now stood, perhaps, more fully displayed before him than ever, at the moment in which he felt himself irrevocably pledged to be the leading instrument in their fulfilment. His election called him to occupy the foremost post, in the great conflict of principle then pending; a conflict, on his part, against long-rooted customs, against long-established authority; a conflict against the wishes, the prejudices, and even, in some respects, the affections natural to mankind; a conflict

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. ep. 1, 2. —"In lecto jacens valde fatigatus."

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxi. v. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. lv. v. 5.



in which to fail was ruin and disgrace ; from which to retire would be a sinful abandonment of duty. An irresistible necessity, as it would appear to him, suddenly brought him close to those gigantic events, those fearful moments of crisis, which he had till then been permitted to contemplate through the mists of a comparatively dim and distant futurity ; and his spirit may well have shrunk, for a moment, from more nearly and more directly confronting them.

It is stated by a contemporary historian<sup>1</sup>, that Gregory, in these agitating moments, dispatched a letter to King Henry ; in which, after narrating the event of his election, he intreated him not to sanction the nomination by his consent. "If," he is reported to have thus addressed the monarch :—"If I be, indeed, "made pope, my first business must be, to see that "your many sins and trespasses meet with the punishment which they deserve."

But, no such epistle appears among Gregory's extant writings, nor does the story well consist with the tone, either of his epistles above alluded to, or of others, written also at this point of his career, which show him, from the very first, to have systematically proceeded in the administration of the papal office. The transmission too of such a letter, had it indeed taken place, could scarcely fail to have been certified to us, by the testimony of more than one of Gregory's contemporary annalists : Lambert of Aschaffenburg, in particular, might have been expected to corroborate, in this point, the statement of Bonizo. But, as this is not the case, we are, it would seem, hardly warranted in giving implicit credit to the statement. Yet it may

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 811. See also Cardinal. Aragon.

well have been founded on truth. Upon the election, a messenger would, of course, be dispatched without loss of time to the imperial court; in which the power of confirming or annulling such proceedings was, as we have seen, admitted to exist; nor is it probable that the principal actor in the scene would suffer him to depart, without charging him with some communication to the emperor directly from himself. And thus, partly in the way of compliment, and partly through the momentary confusion of his mind, he may have forwarded some letter or message, the tenor of which, being too gravely and formally considered, has given rise to the story which the writer in question has recorded.

Gregory could scarcely, in the actual circumstances of the Church and of the empire, have so widely departed from the principles which he had long laboured to establish, as in any more formal way to solicit the annulment, by an imperial veto, of the proceedings of the Roman clergy and people. And, though, having subscribed the decree of Nicholas II., he was not in a position to dispute, as a matter of form, the question of the emperor's interference; yet the notion, that any line of conduct which Henry could have adopted on the occasion, would have induced Gregory to renounce the high station to which he had been elected, is contradicted by the whole tenor of his conduct, from the moment of his election.

But that he continued, even when the first violence of his feelings had subsided, to regard the duties and responsibilities of that station, with a deep sentiment of awe, appears, from an epistle<sup>1</sup> written by him some short

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Baronius, ad an. 1073, and stated to be extant among Lanfranc's epistles, preserved at Paris.



time after his election, to Lanfranc : a prelate to whom he appears to have confided, more fully than to others, the emotions of his heart. "The greater," he says, "the peril in which we are placed, the greater our need of the prayers of all good men. For we, if we would escape the sentence of the divine wrath, must arise against many, and must incense them against our own soul. For, whilst nearly all, as saith the Apostle, seek their own things, and not the things of Jesus Christ, the princes and governors of the world, for the gratification of their own passions, not only desert the law of God, and the dictates of justice, through carelessness, but strive with all their might to oppose them. So that we appear to see, even with our own eyes, the fulfilment of the prophetic passage. 'The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Christ.' While the bishops, and those who should be the shepherds of souls, pursuing with unsatiable desire the glory of the world, and the pleasures of the flesh, not only confound, in themselves, all that is religious and holy, but lead those committed to their charge into every species of wickedness by their example. And thy prudence will alike see, how fearful it must be for us to abstain from opposing such persons, and how difficult for us to oppose them."

Had Henry's position, at the moment, been more favourable, the young monarch would doubtless have been glad to exert, on this occasion, the prerogative so often exercised by his ancestors, by issuing, without delay, his mandate annulling the election. With the character and principles of Hildebrand, the history of the past twenty years had made him well acquainted ; and the rise of that energetic churchman to greater power,



could not but be regarded by him with dread. The profligate and simoniacal prelates, too, who surrounded his court, were eager to increase, in the monarch's mind, this feeling of alarm. They presaged, and truly, what was coming; they felt how firmly the power of Gregory would be exerted in forcing them from their licentious and irregular courses, or in punishing them for their continuance in habits so unpriestly; and they knew how much the authority of the papal name would, in his case, be increased, by the respect commanded by his acknowledged probity of character, and purity of manners<sup>1</sup>. They endeavoured, accordingly, to prevail on the king, at all risks, to set himself in opposition to the Roman conclave, and to nullify their proceedings. But, fortunately for Henry, his court contained more honest, or more prudent, advisers; he was made aware of the extreme danger, in his critical circumstances, of an open rupture with the ecclesiastical power, and induced to adopt a more safe and moderate course. Count Eberhard of Nellenburg, a nobleman already mentioned as standing high in his confidence, was despatched as his ambassador to Rome; and directed to learn, from the authorities of that city, the particulars of the election, and their reasons for making it without waiting, as had been usual, for the imperial sanction. And it was only in the event of an unsatisfactory answer being returned to these inquiries, that the count was instructed to declare the nullity of the proceedings, and the consequent vacancy of the papal chair<sup>2</sup>.

But such an answer, it was, by no means, the wish of Gregory that he should receive. The new pontiff, as

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

we have seen, was already committed to a recognition of the sovereign's authority with respect to the point in question; and, even had it been otherwise, he would probably have been unwilling to furnish Henry with so fair a pretext, as any opposition on this point would have afforded him, for at once denying the papal authority, and for resisting, in future, whatever measures might emanate from the Lateran.

Circumstanced as the young king was, and evidently too feeble to refuse,—if a refusal could possibly be avoided,—his assent to the election, that assent could but be regarded by Gregory as a form; and the times were no longer such, as that the Church's freedom could be materially endangered by the compliment of acknowledging it. A system had now grown into comparative maturity, essentially incompatible with the continuance of that ecclesiastical subjection, which the ceremony of imperial confirmation had formerly implied<sup>1</sup>.

Gregory received, therefore, the imperial envoy with courtesy and deference. God, he said, was his witness, that he had, by no practices of his own, wrought his elevation to the exalted station, which he had been called upon to fill. The Romans, by their unsolicited election, had forced upon him, as though by violence, the burden of the ecclesiastical government. "But my consecration," he continued, "I have hitherto refused, awaiting the approval, by the king, and his princes, of the election; and I shall still refuse it, until that approval be certified to me by an accredited messenger<sup>2</sup>." Satisfied with this answer, Count Eberhard

<sup>1</sup> And, in fact, we learn from the annals of subsequent times, that this was the last occasion in which such a confirmation was sought for or granted.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

returned to Germany, and Henry felt that his only course was to confirm the election. Gregory, the bishop of Vercelli, and imperial chancellor of Italy, appeared accordingly, as the sovereign's accredited representative, at Rome. And the pontiff elect, having been admitted to priest's orders during the week of Pentecost<sup>1</sup>, was consecrated, in that prelate's presence, on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul<sup>2</sup>, with all rites and ceremonies from time immemorial observed upon such occasions<sup>3</sup>.

The name "Gregory" appears to have been chosen by, or for, Hildebrand<sup>4</sup>, at the moment of his sudden election, in compliment to his unfortunate teacher and friend Gratianus, who, it will be recollected, had been elevated to the chair of St. Peter by that name. By styling himself "the seventh," the new pontiff vindicated, as it were, the right of that unhappy man to the papacy, and secured his insertion in the canonical list of the popes by the designation, which he had assumed, of Gregory the Sixth.

No immediate change, of course, was effected in the

<sup>1</sup> *Infra Octavam Pentecostes*. Cardinal. Aragon. Whitsunday, 1073, fell on the 19th of May.

<sup>2</sup> June 29, 1073. So most authorities. Lambert of Aschaffenburg postpones the ceremony till the feast of the Purification in the ensuing year. But the former date is not only more probable in itself, but appears to be established by the circumstance that, Gregory's epistles written prior to the 29th of June, are headed "*Gregorius in Pontificem Electus*," while, of those subsequent to that day, the heading is "*Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei*." Vid. Mansi, Harduin, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Except that another bishop acted as representative of the bishop of Ostia, who should, in virtue of his office, have taken the principal part in the ceremony. But that prelate had been employed by Alexander as his legate, and was still absent.

<sup>4</sup> In point of form, it does not seem to have rested with a pontiff



counsels of the papacy, by the election, to the pontifical station, of one by whom those counsels had so long been virtually guided. In waging unintermitted war against what he considered the two great corruptions of his time, simony<sup>1</sup> and clerical marriage, Gregory did but imitate the example of his predecessors in the chair of St. Peter; though the weight of his name and energy of his character—aided by the gradually increasing effect of his, and their, past labours—now gave a new force to the papal exertions in this momentous struggle. These proscribed practices, like all other real or apprehended religious corruptions of the day, he traced, as to their proximate cause, to that state of subjection, to which the Church had been brought, under the secular princes and rulers of the world;—to the rise and progress of that system of secularization which, confounding things hallowed with things common, was daily drawing her, more and more completely, within the vortex of feudalism, and merging her essential and spiritual character in her external and apparent one. The lay nobles, who had become her most influential governors, were unfettered by those restraints which must, in the worst of times, impose some check upon

elect, himself to assume his future designation, though of course any intimation of his wish upon the point would be reverently attended to. “Non ipse electus nomen sibi assumebat, sed a protoscriniariis et aliis illi imponebatur: vid. Platin. in Paschal. II. ‘Sanctus Petrus Rainerium virum optimum pontificem elegit, cui postea ‘primiscrinii et scribæ regionarii Paschalis nomen indidere.’” Not. in Chron. Cassin. ap. Murator. t. iv. p. 476.

<sup>1</sup> A word, which by the reformers of the time was used with great comprehensiveness of meaning. “*Tria*,” says Damiani, “dicuntur esse munus genera, scilicet munus a manu (i. e. pecunia), munus ab obsequio (i. e. obedientia subjectionis), et munus a linguâ (i. e. favor adulationis).”

the corruption of ecclesiastics. And her bishops and other spiritual dignitaries, bound to those laymen by the strict ties of feudal vassalage, sought rather to please their haughty lords and masters than to guide them; rather to court their favour by an imitation of their manners, than to risk their displeasure by venturing to set a contrary example. While this state of things continued, whatever might be achieved at intervals, or in particular spots, by the influence of energetic individuals, it was vain to hope for a general or permanent effect from the reforming enactments of popes or councils. Powerless would be the most solemn denouncement of simony in the Lateran, while the sovereign and his nobles should continue to offer for sale each ecclesiastical office as it fell vacant; nor less impotent the pontifical call upon the clerical body to abandon their luxurious habits for lives of ascetic purity, while they continued the tools and dependents of a licentious and gross-minded aristocracy. Gregory felt, therefore, that the great plans of purification which had so long engaged the thoughts of himself and his coadjutors, to be efficaciously pursued, must be accompanied by some step, directly tending to the severance of those feudal ties, by which the Church was thus, as it were, bound down to earth; some measure calculated to assert, and at the same time to realize, her essential independence of earthly dignities, and of constitutions human in their construction and temporary in their duration.

And the opportunity for such a measure was subsequently furnished to him, by a practice which, sanctioned as it had become by usage, had for some time excited the indignation of thoughtful churchmen. The effect of Charlemagne's policy upon the episcopate of his empire has been already adverted to. It has been



pointed out how, under that monarch and his descendants, prelates became identified with barons, the hierarchical governors of the Church with the feudal dignitaries of the empire ; as well as how, in this blending of dissimilar characters, the sacred and unearthly dignity, which was the object of faith, became merged, to the public eye, in that which was tangible and conspicuous. Under this state of things,—the sovereign, naturally conceiving himself entitled to a preponderating voice in the nomination of his representative and vassal,—the custom silently became universal, that episcopal elections should be ratified by what was styled regal investiture. Though, in earlier and purer ages of the Church, the binding a bishop by any kind of formal oath, would have been thought a degradation of the episcopal character<sup>1</sup>, the prelates nominated by Charlemagne or his descendants, saw no impropriety, when becoming the beneficed vassals of the throne, in pledging themselves, in the ordinary way, to fidelity and devotion, or in receiving the emblems of their appointment from the regal hand. The symbols adopted for this purpose were the sacerdotal ring and the pastoral staff; symbols which, naturally as they in the first instance suggested themselves, could scarcely fail to escape the indignant criticism of churchmen in a more thoughtful age. For, when their purport was weighed, they could scarcely be regarded as indicative of those civil rights, royalties, and privileges, which, emanating as they did from the fountain of secular honours, bishops might fairly be admitted to hold in subservience to, and as derivative from, the regal

<sup>1</sup> It was on that account forbidden by Justinian in his Laws. Vid. Thomassin. *Vet. et Nov. Eccles. Discipl.* pt. ii. l. ii. c. xlvii. § 2.



authority. They were episcopal, not baronial, adornings. They typified, the one the espousals which the bishop, in Christ's stead, contracted with his Church<sup>1</sup>, the other, the pastoral superintendence which, as representing the great Shepherd, he was authorized to exercise over his flock. And, under the influence of that primitive feeling which sought to trace, in things of a holy nature, the unseen in the seen;—to watch for glimpses and shadowy indications of the correspondencies which connect the earthly and tangible accidents of the Church with her essential and hidden glories,—the more religious contemporaries of Gregory VII. regarded, as though fraught with a mysterious potency of meaning, these honoured instruments and appendages of her ministry. In the rod, they beheld the antitype of that, which in the hand of Moses had brought water from the rock to the relief of a perishing people<sup>2</sup>. And with regard to the ring, they, with St. Ambrose, beheld in it the seal of a pure faith and the impress of the truth. "He who hath the ring," the saint had thus spoken, "hath the Father, the Son, "and the Holy Ghost. For God hath sealed us, whose "image is Christ, and hath given His Spirit to be a "pledge in our hearts; that we may recognize, in the

<sup>1</sup> Dum tu (sacerdos) sis vir et sponsus ecclesiæ tuæ, quod utique perhibent et annulus dispensationis et virga commissionis. Damiani Opusc. xvii. de cœlibatu sacerdotum.—Vice Christi factus es pastor ovium, scilicet quando datus est tibi annulus desponsionis et baculus pastoralis curæ . . . Nonne accepisti annulum, ut ecclesiam tuam velut sponsam diligeres, baculum quoque, ut eam a luporum incursione defenderes. Epistola Moguntinæ ecclesiæ ad Sigefridum. Udalr. Bab. Codex, N. cxxxiv.—Sacerdotes . . . in manibus annulos deferebant, quatenus ecclesiæ sponsos sese ostenderent. Landulph. senior. Hist. Mediolan. t. ii. c. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Landulph. senior. Hist. Mediolan. l. ii. c. xxxv.

“ring which is placed upon the hand, that signet with which the inward parts of our hearts, and the ministry of our outward actions, are sealed<sup>1</sup>. Impressed with sentiments reverential as these, they could not but shudder to behold the practice of lay investiture, such as it existed around them; to behold the symbols, fraught to their eyes with a significancy so awful, handled and dispensed to Christ’s ministers by a licentious monarch, or, as was the case with many benefices, by his feudatory nobles, as though in exercise of the ordinary privileges and prerogatives of their secular dignity. And when we reflect that a ceremony, in itself so odious to them, was rendered still more obnoxious in their eyes, by its connection with the existing prostration of the Church before the temporal sovereignty, as well as by its tendency to perpetuate the system of simony which disgraced the times, we may, in some degree, appreciate the intensity of the feeling, with which, when once appealed to on the subject, they were found to insist on its total and perpetual abolition.

But Gregory was not prepared, at once, to evoke this dormant spirit. Though it is probable that, like Damiani, he had often bitterly ruminated on the degrading exhibition of the Church’s slavery, which investiture, in its continual recurrence, presented to the eyes of mankind, he was too well aware of the necessity

<sup>1</sup> Landulph. c. xxxvi.—*Annulus quid est aliud nisi sinceræ fidei signaculum, et expressio veritatis? . . . Qui autem anulum habet, et Patrem habet, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, quia signavit nos Deus, cujus imago Christus, et dedit Spiritum pignus in cordibus nostris, ut sciamus hoc annuli istius, qui in manu datur, esse signaculum, quo cordis interiora factorumque nostrorum ministeria signantur.* S. Ambros. Comment. lib. vii. in Evangel. Luc. cap. xvi. t. 3. p. 168, ex editione Romanâ, Lutet. Paris. 1661. The quotation in Landulphus is in some points incorrect.

of watching the times, and of selecting the fittest moment for every meditated effort, rashly to commit himself by an untimely demonstration against a practice so firmly established.

It was, therefore, to other points that his exertions, if not his thoughts, were in the first instance directed. And his official act, now to be mentioned, will afford a striking illustration of the mode in which, in the minds of Gregory and of his school, the noblest feelings and principles were debased by an alloy, originating in the distorted views of the nature of Christ's kingdom which had been generally adopted by the gross times before them. This kingdom, brought down by the events connected with its settlement under an earthly head, to the position, in some respects, of a temporal monarchy, could not, while thus circumstanced, make assertion of the claims which were spiritually its due, without the simultaneous assumption of a secular, political pre-eminence, but ill adapted to its primitive character. The Christian doctrine, that the Almighty Head of the Church "ruleth over all the kingdoms of the earth, and giveth them to whomsoever He will," was confounded with the idea, that His imagined sole vicar and representative below, was invested with, what the language of the times entitled, a paramount lordship or suzerainty, over the individual thrones of Christendom. Standing in the place of St. Peter, his successor was regarded as though clothed with an authority, similar in nature to that of kings, though exceeding theirs in extent; as occupying, in relation to them, a position, analogous to that which they occupied in reference to their feudatory nobles: the great truth of the Church's substantive, and, in her own province, supreme, authority, being thus borne witness to; though



in connexion with the then generally prevalent error, which represented her as forming a certain definite member, a component, necessary department, of the system of feudal society.

The act in question was the mission of Hugo Candidus,—the cardinal who had taken so prominent a part in his election,—into Spain. Hugo had already been employed in that country as legate; having been sent thither by Alexander II., subsequently to his submission to that pontiff. But he had drawn on himself, while there, the censures of the conclave, by having accepted bribes to restore persons convicted of simony to their benefices. For this he had been instantly recalled, and commanded to confine himself to Rome; but respect for the memory of his old patron, Leo IX., prevented Alexander from adopting further measures against him<sup>1</sup>. His conduct at Gregory's election shows him, nevertheless, to have been a person of influence in Rome; and after that event, Gregory perhaps could not refuse his application for employment. But he himself tells us that he only granted it upon Hugo's full acknowledgment of his errors, and solemn promises of amendment. He also thought it advisable that Hugo should be accompanied, on this occasion, to Spain, by two trusty monks of Cluni, who were to watch and control him<sup>2</sup>.

The Spanish peninsula had for some time been regarded with much interest by the governors of the Roman Church; and the efforts of Alexander II. had, throughout his pontificate, been exerted to procure the abrogation of the Gothic, or Mozarabic, ritual, which had from old time been in use in the Spanish Church, and

<sup>1</sup> Bonizo, p. 809.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. ep. 6.

the introduction, into Spain, of the Roman book of services in its place.

The unity of the Church, amid the natural distinctions and differences of her members, was a point upon which the popes of that time were anxious strenuously to insist; nor could it be in any way more satisfactorily illustrated to mankind, than by making her ritual one and the same, throughout the whole extent of her territories; and teaching, as far as might be, all portions of Christendom, to offer their devotions according to the forms established in the city of St. Peter. And they were, of course, more especially desirous so to illustrate this unity, in regions, which, like the Spanish kingdoms, lay apart, and in a manner cut off from, the general Christian community; for it was in these that the greatest danger existed, that the important doctrine of Catholic unity should be forgotten, and that the Church should acquire, in men's eyes, the character of a mere national or political institution.

The exertions of Alexander, undertaken for this end, in Spain, had not been unattended by success. Ramiro, king of Arragon, had caused the enactment, by a council assembled at Jacca, in or about the year 1063, of a canon, abolishing the Gothic, and establishing the Roman, ritual in his dominions<sup>1</sup>; and Hugo Candidus, on his first visit to Spain, in 1068, after the council of Mantua, had found the decision of that assembly, in favour of Alexander, generally respected, and the ordinance of Jacca recognized and acted upon, by Ramiro's son and successor, Sancho Ramirez<sup>2</sup>. But some time appears to have been required to wean that prince's

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi, Breviar. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1075.

<sup>2</sup> F. Pagi, Breviar. Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1159.



subjects from their attachment to their ancient forms of worship; and the completion of this work,—the establishment, in exclusive use, of the Roman system of services in Arragon,—was one of the principal objects of Hugo's present mission. It was not, of course, intended to confine the scope of his exertions to that small kingdom. But Alphonso king of Castile and Leon, and Sancho king of Navarre, do not seem to have so readily acquiesced in the papal intentions as their Arragonese brother; their subjects, too, exhibited that attachment to old customs, and that aversion to change, which have ever distinguished the Spanish character; and, notwithstanding the efforts of papal legates, and the exhortations, by letter, of pontiffs themselves, it does not appear that the reception of the Roman ritual, or, as it then began to be called, the Breviary, in the Christian portion of Spain, was complete, until after the holding of the council of Tolosa, in 1089<sup>1</sup>, during the pontificate of Urban II<sup>2</sup>.

But it was to a further object of Hugo's mission that the general remarks above made more directly referred. Count Eboli of Roceio<sup>3</sup>, a nobleman of great prowess and military skill, had undertaken an expedition against

<sup>1</sup> F. Pagi, *Breviar.* i. 595. Hard. t. vi. pt. ii. p. 1693.

<sup>2</sup> And, even then, the Mozarabic ritual was not so completely abolished in the Spanish Church but that it continued in use in many monasteries and even some cathedral churches in the time of Roderic archbishop of Toledo (13th century). It was at length printed, by direction of cardinal Ximenes, and in that shape still used, in Mabillon's time, in a certain chapel of Toledo cathedral, and in some parish churches. Vid. Mabillon. *Præfat.* in Paul. Bernied. *Vit. Gregory VII.* ap. Murat. t. iii. pt. i. et vid. Palmer. *Orig. Liturg.* t. i. p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Or Ebles de Roucy, a noble, as it should seem, from the neighbourhood of Rheims. Vid. *Hist. Andaginens. Monaster.* ap. Marten. et Durand. *Coll. Ampl.* t. iv. p. 930.



the Moors, and, like Guiscard in Italy, had accepted from Rome the investiture of whatever land he might succeed in wresting from its infidel possessors, to be holden as a fief for ever of the apostolic see.

And Gregory, in accordance with the received system of the papacy in his time, now attempted to render the recognition of this tenure universal, among the Christian sovereigns of the peninsula, in the following extraordinary epistle, addressed on the 30th of April, 1073, to the grandees of Spain, and committed to his newly appointed legate's care. "Ye are not, as we believe, ignorant, that the kingdom of Spain was of old time the property of St. Peter; or that, notwithstanding its long occupation by Pagans, the law of justice remaining unchanged, it still belongs of right to no mortal, but to the apostolic see. For that which has once, by God's providence, become the property of Churches, cannot, while it endures, without their formal surrender of it, be rightfully alienated from them; however the lapse of time may interfere with their enjoyment of it. And therefore, Count Eboli of Roccio, whose fame we believe to be widely spread among you, wishing to occupy that land to the honour of St. Peter, and to seize it from the hands of the Pagans, has obtained from the apostolic see the concession, that whatever part of it he may gain from Pagans, by his own exertions, and by those of his associates in the enterprise, he shall possess, under the conditions of the compact which he has made with us, and by the authority of St. Peter. Let him, therefore, among you, who may wish to labour with the count in this undertaking, being now warned in all charity, direct his desires toward the honour of St. Peter, that he may receive

“ from him defence in dangers, and the merited rewards  
“ of fidelity. And, if any of you, apart from Count  
“ Eboli, prepare to attack, with their own forces, any  
“ portion of the territory in question, let them see that  
“ they propose to themselves, from the devotion of  
“ their souls, a just cause of warfare; vowing, and from  
“ their hearts determining, in their occupation of the  
“ land now held by infidels, to offer no injury to the  
“ Apostle’s right. Of this we wish to warn you all,  
“ that, unless ye are prepared to recognize St. Peter’s  
“ claim upon those territories, we would rather oppose  
“ you, by exerting our apostolical authority to forbid  
“ your attacking them, than permit the Church, our  
“ holy universal mother, suffering from her sons the  
“ injuries which she has already suffered from her ene-  
“ mies, to be afflicted by the loss, not only of her pro-  
“ perty, but also of her children. For which reason we  
“ have sent among you our beloved son Hugo, a card-  
“ nal presbyter of the Roman Church, to whom we have  
“ given authority more fully to explain to you, in our  
“ stead, our counsels and decrees respecting you<sup>1</sup>.”

The immediate result of this letter, it is difficult to trace. The claim thus advanced by Gregory was, in all probability, entirely new to those to whom it was addressed; the assertion of the ancient feudal subjection of Spain to the apostolic see being, it would seem, unsupported by documentary, or even traditionary proof<sup>2</sup>. But Gregory, acting upon the theory which

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hispaniam Romanæ olim sedi vectigalem fuisse, a nullo, quod sciam, scriptore Hispano memoriæ proditum est. So Cantelius, (Metropolitan. urb. histor.) who, of course, however, assumes that Gregory must have had good grounds for making the assertion. Pt. i. Diss. iii.

we have described, would require no such proof for making it; the fact, that Spain had received her Christianity from Rome, and recognized, with the West in general, the spiritual pre-eminence of her bishop, would be, according to the same theory, a sufficient proof that the princes of that country had acknowledged the paramount territorial rights of St. Peter, and had become the feudatories and tributaries of the apostolic see. While the Spanish princes may have felt, that some advantages would result to themselves, from the admission of a claim apparently derogatory to their dignity. They, like Guiscard, might materially strengthen their yet unconsolidated power, by a legal and permanent connection with the spiritual sovereigns of the West. Engaged, too, as they were, in what may be styled a perpetual holy war, the more complete identification of their cause with that of the Church, would enable them, when occasion required it, to appeal, the more confidently, to the zeal and to the courage of their subjects. And benefits like these they might well deem it expedient to purchase, by the grant of a small annual tribute, and the payment of what would, at that period, appear to them little more than a nominal compliment. For neither kings nor nations, it is probable, could yet anticipate the working out, in practice, of the theory thus established,—the actual exercise, by the popes, of the extraordinary right of suzerainty thus recognized in them,—or the deposition, by their paramount authority, of monarchs from their thrones, as disobedient vassals of St. Peter.

The epistle above quoted was written, as we have already stated, on the 30th of April. On the 6th of May, Gregory replied in the following terms, to the congratulatory letter addressed to him, in the event of his



election, by Godfrey the younger, of Tuscany :—"The  
 " joy, which in your letter you express on the occasion of  
 " our exaltation is grateful to our feelings, not because  
 " any expression of pleasure on our account would be  
 " so <sup>1</sup>, but because we believe it to be derived from the  
 " source of sincere love, and from a faithful mind.  
 " That exaltation which, to you and to others of the  
 " faithful, causes affectionate thoughts of us <sup>2</sup>, and joy,  
 " awakens in us the bitterness of inward grief, and  
 " brings us to the streights of overpowering anxiety.  
 " We see what care surrounds us, we feel how heavy is  
 " the burden laid upon us ; under which, while the con-  
 " sciousness of our infirmity appals us, our soul rather  
 " desires the peace of a dissolution in Christ, than a  
 " life in the midst of such dangers. The consideration  
 " of the task imposed on us so harasses us, that unless,  
 " under God, some confidence in the prayers of spiritual  
 " men sustained us <sup>3</sup>, our mind must needs sink beneath  
 " the greatness of our cares. So completely, through  
 " the agency of sin, does the whole world lie in  
 " wickedness <sup>4</sup>, that all men, and those more espe-  
 " cially who bear rule in the Church, strive rather  
 " to disturb her, than by faithful devotion to de-  
 " fend and adorn her ; and, while straining after  
 " their own advantage, or the desires of present glory,  
 " oppose themselves as enemies to Religion and to the  
 " righteousness of God. Most especially must this  
 " grieve us, who, amid such difficulties, can neither  
 " duly administer the Church's government, nor safely  
 " desert it. But because we know that you, by the

<sup>1</sup> Non ut hoc aliqua causæ nostræ delectatio faciat.

<sup>2</sup> Piam de nobis existimationem.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. supr. p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Peccatis enim facientibus ita pene totus mundus in maligno est positus, ut, &c. Vid. 1 Joh. v. 19.

“ grace of God, are gifted with the virtues of faith and  
 “ constancy,—because we have in you the confidence  
 “ which it becomes us to repose in a beloved son of  
 “ St. Peter,—we wish you by no means to doubt either  
 “ our most constant love, or our most ready good-will  
 “ toward your honours. Respecting the king, you may  
 “ know our mind and desire at full ; that, to the best  
 “ of our knowledge in the Lord<sup>1</sup>, we believe no one to  
 “ be more solicitous than ourselves, for either his pre-  
 “ sent or his future glory. And it is our wish, upon  
 “ the first opportunity that offers itself, to confer with  
 “ him, by our legates, upon the things which appear to  
 “ us to relate to the advantage of the Church, and to  
 “ the honour of his own royal dignity. If he shall  
 “ hear us, we shall rejoice in his welfare as in our own ;  
 “ and well, surely, will it be with him, if, in main-  
 “ taining righteousness, he shall heed our warnings and  
 “ acquiesce in our counsels. But if,—which we pray  
 “ that he may not,—he shall return to us ‘ hatred for  
 “ our good-will<sup>2</sup>,’ and to the Almighty God,—by depart-  
 “ ing from His righteousness,—contempt for the hon-  
 “ ours which He has heaped upon him ; the maledic-  
 “ tion of the prophet, ‘ Cursed be he that keepeth back  
 “ his sword from blood<sup>3</sup>,’ shall in no wise, God willing,  
 “ fall upon us. We may not set aside the law of God  
 “ through respect of persons, or swerve from the path of  
 “ right for the sake of human favour. As the Apostle  
 “ says, ‘ If I yet pleased men, I should not be the ser-  
 “ vant of God<sup>4</sup>.’ ”

The same wish for the continuance of peaceful rela-  
 tions with Henry, coupled with the same anticipation

<sup>1</sup> Quod quantum in Domino sapimus.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cix. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Jerem. xlviii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 9.

of a coming struggle, and with the same resolution against any compromise of principle in the event of its occurring, was thus expressed by the pontiff in an epistle written, on the 25th of May, to Beatrice and Matilda.

“Respecting the king, it is our wish to send to him religious men, by whose admonitions, through the inspiration of God, we may succeed in recalling him to the love of his Mother, the holy Roman Church, and to a becoming mode of administering the government of his empire. But if,—which we deprecate, —he shall scornfully refuse to listen to us, we neither can, nor may, abandon her, our holy Mother, the Church of Rome, who hath nurtured us, and who hath often, by the blood of her sons, given birth to other children. Assuredly it were more safe for us to resist him, if necessary, even to the pouring forth of our blood for the sake of his salvation, than, by wickedly yielding to the accomplishment of his will,—which God forbid,—to rush with him into destruction<sup>1</sup>.”

The princesses to whom this epistle was addressed, laboured, undoubtedly, with all zeal in the good work of cementing the union between the representatives of the civil and of the ecclesiastical power. And Henry, —who, since the retirement of Hanno, had embroiled himself more and more with the malcontents of Saxony,—did not venture at the moment openly to slight their counsels. He saw himself beset with difficulties on every side. A slight cause of disgust might, he was aware, induce the already dissatisfied princes of Southern Germany to make common cause

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 11.



with his oppressed subjects in the North ; and such a coalition, if aided by the papal influence and name, would in all probability overwhelm the exhausted forces of the crown. The last message, too, of Alexander was fresh in his recollection. The relations of amity with the Lateran, to which the death of that pontiff at a critical moment had restored him, had been too recently and unexpectedly recovered, to be, as yet, despised. And even without regard to the worldly advantages of such concord, Henry was probably disposed by good feeling to desire its continuance ; though he had not sufficient self-command to abandon the courses which rendered that continuance impossible. He responded, therefore, to the pacific overtures of Gregory in the following terms :

“To the most vigilant and most desired<sup>1</sup> Lord, “Pope Gregory, vested by Heaven with apostolic “dignity, Henry, by the grace of God, king of the “Romans, sends this most sincere exhibition of his “bounden service.

“Since the kingdom and the priesthood, that they “may continue well administered in Christ, require the “assistance of each other, it is most important, my “most loving Lord and Father, that they should be as “little as possible divided against each other, and that “they should cling, in the bond of Christ, indissolubly “together. For thus, and in no other manner, the “concord of Christian unity and the state of ecclesiastical religion are preserved in the bond of perfect “charity and peace<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vigilantissimo et desiderantissimo.

<sup>2</sup> Namque sic et non aliter conservatur in vinculo perfectæ caritatis et pacis, et Christianæ concordia unitatis et ecclesiasticæ status religionis.

“But we, who by God’s grace are now entrusted with  
“the regal power, have not respected, in all things, as we  
“ought, the rights and legitimate honour of the priest-  
“hood. The sword which it was given us, not in vain,  
“to bear, in assertion of the power bestowed upon us by  
“Heaven, we have not always drawn from its scabbard  
“against criminals, in accordance with the dictates of  
“justice<sup>1</sup>. But now, smitten in some degree, through  
“God’s mercy, with compunction, and returning to our-  
“selves, we confess our past transgressions, and throw  
“ourselves on your paternal indulgence; hoping in the  
“Lord to obtain the boon of absolution from your aposto-  
“lical authority<sup>2</sup>. Criminal have we been, and unhappy!  
“partly through the alluring instincts of youth,—partly  
“through the license of unbridled power,—and partly  
“through the seductive guidance of those whose counsels  
“we have too readily followed,—we have sinned against  
“heaven and before you, and are no more worthy to be  
“called your son. We have not only invaded the pro-  
“perty of churches, but have sold, to persons infected  
“with the gall of simony,—to those who entered not in  
“by the door, but by other ways,—the churches them-  
“selves; instead of defending them, as we ought to have  
“done, against their approaches. But now, unable, with-  
“out the support of your authority, to reform the abuses  
“of the churches, we implore alike your counsel and  
“your aid, in this as in all things: your command is, in  
“all things, of authority. And—in the first place,—  
“with regard to the Church of Milan, which is, through  
“our fault, in error; we pray that it may, by the exertion  
“of your apostolical power, be canonically reformed; and

<sup>1</sup> *Judiciariâ censurâ.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ut apostolicâ vestrâ auctoritate absoluti justificari mereamur.*

“thence let the sentence of your authority proceed to the reformation of other churches. We will, by God’s grace, be wanting to you in nothing; and we humbly solicit from you, in return, the exercise of a paternal care over us in all things. You shall shortly receive further letters from us, conveyed by most faithful messengers; and you shall thus, if God so please, learn those things which yet remain to be recounted to you<sup>1</sup>.”

A letter expressive of so much anxiety for his continued favour, and of so much reverence for his apostolical authority, was of course received by Gregory with delight. In an epistle addressed, on the 27th of September, to his Milanese supporter Herlembald, he speaks of it as a letter “full of sweetness and obedience;” and such a one as had never before, by Henry or by his ancestors, been transmitted to the heads of the Roman Church<sup>2</sup>. If, indeed, the pontiff looked at that letter with those paternal sentiments toward its writer, which he so often and so strongly expressed, the apparent depth of feeling and sincerity of compunction which it displayed might lead him to forget, for the time, the levity and irresolution of the monarch’s character, and to indulge the hope, that the peace which he so anxiously desired to maintain, might yet prove something more than a dream. And if, on the perusal, considerations of policy in any degree occupied his mind, he could not fail to read, in this recognition of his authority, its virtual confirmation. Henry might subsequently disobey that authority, but could not thenceforward deny it, without exposing himself to the charge of glaring inconsistency, and standing self-condemned. But we can scarcely doubt that, for the moment at least, Gregory was dis-

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Harduin. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1219.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 25.



posed to hope for better things, and to look forward to the future accomplishment of his high aims, with the friendly concurrence of the sovereign, and not in direct opposition to that sovereign's imperial authority.

## BOOK III.—CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1073.

HENRY'S CRUELTY TOWARD THE SAXONS—THEIR DEPUTATION TO HIM AT GOSLAR—THEIR SECRET MEETING AT NOCKMESLAU—HENRY BESIEGED IN HARZBURG—HIS ESCAPE, AND MEETING WITH HIS NOBLES NEAR HERSFELD—INTERVIEW BETWEEN SIEGFRIED AND THE SAXON DELEGATES AT CORVEY—DIET AT GERTUNGEN—ACCUSATION BROUGHT AGAINST HENRY BY REGINGER—HENRY'S ILLNESS AND RECOVERY—HIS TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO WORMS—REGINGER'S DEATH.

HENRY'S position, during the latter part of the year 1073, was indeed critical. From the time of Hanno's retirement, the king had demeaned himself toward the Saxons and Thuringians, in a manner calculated to produce among them a general repugnance to his government. Unable to resist his forces, they had been compelled to accept, with respect to their tithes, such terms <sup>1</sup>, as the rapacity of Siegfried, and of Henry himself,—for the monarch was, by compact with the archbishop, to share in the prize <sup>2</sup>,—would accord to them. Their remonstrances had been disregarded, and their purpose of appeal to the holy see frustrated, by the king's menace of capital punishment to any who should attempt to put such a measure in practice. And, to keep them in check for the future, castles or forts had been, by Henry's orders, erected on every important

<sup>1</sup> At Erfurt in March, 1073. Lamb. Schafnab.—*Annalista Saxo*.

<sup>2</sup> *Eâ tamen pactione, ut ipsarum decimationum partem sibi, quæ et regiâ magnificentiâ et tanto labore suo digna fuit, tribueret.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

height or commanding spot throughout their provinces, and filled with royal garrisons <sup>1</sup>.

But these undisciplined troops, by their unbridled rapine and licentiousness, soon produced a general feeling of exasperation, throughout the province which they were intended to preserve. Continually issuing from their strong-holds, they relentlessly plundered the villages and fields; they carried off whole flocks, under the pretext of tithing them; seizing natives, even of a free condition, they employed them in the work of the meanest slaves; and women they either shamefully abused, almost in the very presence of their husbands and fathers, or else dragged them into their castles, to detain them there as long as it pleased their fancy, and then to drive them back dishonoured to their homes <sup>2</sup>.

Indignant appeals from this intolerable tyranny shortly reached Henry's ears; but in vain. That vindictive prince replied to the complainants, that these miseries had been brought upon them by themselves, through their resistance to the payment of the tithe; and that he, in keeping them in subjection with the armed hand, was vindicating the cause of God against the violators of His laws. And so far was the representation of their miseries from moving him to compassionate their condition, that the knowledge, how much they would bear without resistance, became an inducement to him to strain his power yet further. He conceived, it would appear, the atrocious scheme <sup>3</sup> of reducing the whole Saxon population to the condition of

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Norberti vita Bennonis, Archiep. Osnab. c. xi. ap. Eccard. Corp. Historic. Med. Æv. t. ii. p. 2168.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Magnum quiddam, et à nullo majorum suorum antehac tentatum, machinari cœpit.—Lamb. Schafnab.



slaves, of seizing their land and property, and annulling their privileges, and of establishing in their desolated province a colony of Swabians. With this end in view, he entered into secret negotiations with the Danish king; who was, for his assistance in the accomplishment of the project, to be rewarded with a portion of the Saxon territory, contiguous to his dominions. Similar arrangements were made with other princes, whose domains bordered upon Saxony; and the remaining feudatories of his empire were summoned to meet him, with their contingents, at Hersfeld, on the 22nd of the ensuing August<sup>1</sup>; for the alleged purpose of a campaign against the Poles, but, in truth, that they might support the monarch in his nefarious design against their fellow-subjects.

But the patience of the Saxons was exhausted, long before the arrival of the period thus prescribed. They still pressed their grievances urgently on Henry's attention, and at length compelled him to name a day for a council, which their leading prelates and nobles should attend, and in which their condition should be taken into consideration. These dignitaries assembled, consequently, on the 29th of June,—the day of Gregory's consecration at Rome,—at the palace of Goslar<sup>2</sup>. But when the appointed hour had arrived, the childish king, happening to be engaged in playing at some game of hazard, sent to intreat their patience till the termination of his amusement. The day went on, and still he appeared not; and on the approach of night they were informed by one of his attendants that he had quitted the palace<sup>3</sup>. Naturally incensed by this conduct, or

<sup>1</sup> On the Octave of the Assumption. Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

<sup>3</sup> Annalista Saxo.—Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

conceiving it,—as perhaps in truth it was,—a studied indication of the contempt with which Henry was prepared to treat their representations, the Saxon chiefs departed from Goslar, and felt that no alternative remained, but the attempt to re-assert their rights and liberties by the sword.

A great meeting consequently took place, by secret appointment among them, at a retired spot named Nockmeslau<sup>1</sup>. Otho of Nordheim opened the proceedings; Werner archbishop of Magdeburg, Burchard bishop of Halberstadt, and others, inflamed in succession the passions of the assembly, by the detail of their respective injuries from the royal hand; and all present bound themselves by a solemn vow to maintain to the last their liberties and laws<sup>2</sup>.

In consequence of these proceedings, three of their nobles approached Henry once more at Goslar about the first of August, and, being admitted to an interview, used all their eloquence to induce him alike to redress the grievances of their province, and to correct the vices which habitually disgraced his life and government. The king's answer was evasive and contemptuous, and the delegates retired. But Henry was almost immediately startled by the intelligence, that the whole province of Saxony was in arms, and that a multitude exceeding in number 60,000 men<sup>3</sup> was close upon Goslar. He fled in dismay to the castle of Harzburg<sup>4</sup>, a place strong by nature, and which had recently been fortified, by his orders, with peculiar care; and there he was im-

<sup>1</sup> "Nockmeslovo." Bruno,—or "Noleinesleve." *Annalista Saxo*. Stenzel (*Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*) imagines that the place meant is Haldersleben.

<sup>2</sup> Bruno de Bell. Saxon.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.—Paul. Lang. *Chronic. Citizens.* ap. Pistor. t. i.

mediately blockaded by a portion of the Saxon force<sup>1</sup>. Thus cooped up, he felt the necessity of treating with his besiegers, in a tone very different from that which he had of late thought fit to use toward them; and he employed Duke Berthold of Carinthia, who had accompanied<sup>2</sup> him from Goslar, to speak them fair, and to urge them to desist from the siege, by holding out the hope, that their grievances might speedily be redressed by less irregular means<sup>3</sup>. But the Saxons would listen to no terms of accommodation, which did not include the immediate demolition of Harzburg itself, and of all the other fortresses which Henry had erected throughout their province, to awe and control them; and this point the king was not, even under his existing difficulties, disposed to concede<sup>4</sup>. The blockade, therefore, was continued; but Henry contrived, after a few days, to elude the vigilance of the Saxon watches, and to escape, one dark night<sup>5</sup>, in company with Berthold, with two prelates, and several followers, from the beleaguered castle, into the woods which surrounded it. Guided by a hunter, the fugitives pursued their journey for three days amid the depths of the Hercynian forest, faint for want of sustenance, and agitated by continual alarm<sup>6</sup>. On the fourth day, they reached a village named Eschewege, where they obtained some refresh-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.

<sup>2</sup> Casu . . . nuper advenerat, nescio quid privatæ causæ acturus. Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bruno.

<sup>4</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>5</sup> August 8. Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo.—When, as it appears from the *Terminus Paschalis* of the year 1073, the moon was new, or nearly so, and consequently invisible.

<sup>6</sup> Undique circumspectantes gladium, et ad quemlibet perstreptis auræ sonitum incursus hostium, jamque jugulo incumbentem interitum formidantes.—Lamb. Schafnab.



ment and repose<sup>1</sup>; and, on the fifth,—the 13th of August,—they arrived at Hersfeld, toward which place, the nobles, whom he had summoned thither, were, with their forces, already in motion. They met, in pursuance of his final directions, at a place in the immediate vicinity of Hersfeld, called, by Lambert, *Capella*<sup>2</sup>; and there, when he saw his chiefs about him, Henry fell at their feet<sup>3</sup>, and, detailing the gross injuries and indignities which he conceived himself to have suffered from the Saxons, besought them to follow him immediately to the exemplary chastisement of that rebellious people<sup>4</sup>.

Some of the assembled princes, moved by the eagerness of his intreaties, declared in favour of an immediate march against his enemies, with the forces which they had prepared for the Polish expedition<sup>5</sup>. But others, more prudent, or less warm in the cause, pointed out the inexpediency of commencing, without more extensive preparations, an encounter with a people of so martial and determined a character, and now so exasperated, as that of Saxony. And, upon the advice of these more cautious counsellors, approved as it appeared to be by all, the king was induced to acquiesce in the postponement, for a short time, of his contemplated vengeance. He appointed, consequently, the octave of St. Michael<sup>6</sup>, as the day on which the princes should meet him, at Breitenbach<sup>7</sup>, in the Hersfeld territory, with

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> A locality identified, by Stenzel, with Spiescappel.

<sup>3</sup> *Pedibus eorum provolutus, orabat.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> *Annalista Saxo.*

<sup>5</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>6</sup> *Septimo die post festum S. Michaelis.*—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>7</sup> Stenzel (*Geschichte der Fränkischen Kaiser*) thus renders the “Breidingen” of Lambert.

increased contingents, to commence the campaign; and he, then accompanied by the chief among them, set out for Tribur, with the intention of visiting that and other places, in the neighbourhood of the Rhine.

His envoys were, in the mean time, despatched in all directions through the empire, commissioned to keep, if possible, both nobles and people firm in their adherence to the royal cause, to make great largesses, to promise more, and to restore to their possessions those whose rights he had, in his more prosperous times, wantonly infringed<sup>1</sup>. Henry thus hoped to soothe the growing discontent which, as he began to be aware, pervaded his dominions, and to secure the appearance of a respectable force at the meeting at Breitenbach. But that meeting was not destined to take place. Even when fresh from his flight, and most eager to avenge the disgrace of that event, by the destruction of the Saxon nation, it seems that the king thought it advisable to request the good offices of the prelates of Cologne and Mentz, in settling, if possible, the quarrel by negotiation. Though he would, of course, have deprecated, at the moment, such a termination of it, he might have been taught, by recent events, to feel the expediency of keeping open, in the midst of his warlike schemes, a way to peace. It was, perhaps, necessary, for the sake of appearances, that he should thus put on the show of moderation. He might feel that, without his taking some such step, the princes would not readily believe in the justice of his cause; or he might wish to deceive the enemy, by holding out the appearance of conciliation, at the moment in which he contemplated striking his most decisive blow.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb, Schafnab.

Be this as it may, it appears that an interview took place, between Siegfried and some deputies of the Saxon nation, at Corvey, on the 24th of August<sup>1</sup>. But the worldly archbishop of Mentz was now no trustworthy representative of his master's cause. He had already held communication with the insurgents at Erfurt; where, making probably such stipulations with regard to his own interest in the quarrel as his position would permit, he had pledged himself to take no part in the king's proceedings against them. And it is said, that both he and the archbishop of Cologne, aware of the disgust which the violence and indecorum of Henry's life had generally excited among the princes of the empire, were already prepared to co-operate in the execution of any scheme, to which that disgust might give birth. Under Siegfried's hands, therefore, the negotiations at Corvey assumed a more serious character than Henry could have contemplated giving them. The Saxons pleaded not so much for the restoration of their own provincial rights and liberties, as for the removal of the monarch from a throne on which, as they asserted, he could not longer remain without manifest injury to the cause of the Christian religion, his crimes being such that, were he judged according to the canons, he would be separated from his queen, deprived of his knighthood, and compelled to renounce, not his throne only, but all secular station and employment. And Siegfried, after much discussion with them, agreed that they should have an opportunity of bringing forward their charges against their sovereign in his presence, and in that of the leading princes of the empire, assembled for the occa-

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.



sion. The 20th of October<sup>1</sup> was, consequently, named for a meeting at Gerstungen; and Henry, though he still endeavoured, by means of his allies, the Luticians and the king of Denmark, to annoy his enemies, was compelled to postpone for a time his own intended military operations. As he had indignantly refused to ratify the compact, which Siegfried had entered into, for the delivery, to the Saxon princes, of hostages for their safe appearance at the assembly; these chiefs, with a view to their security, approached the appointed scene of deliberation with an escort of 14,000 men; a force which made the monarch, in his turn, apprehensive of danger; who consequently, instead of presiding over the meeting in person, awaited the issue of its deliberations at Wurzburg. His absence was attended with results disastrous to his cause. Emboldened to speak freely, the Saxons set forth, in glowing colours, the injuries of their province, the crimes perpetrated against them, and the disgrace brought, as they conceived it, on the whole empire, by the conduct of its head. And the chiefs who listened to them, freed like themselves from restraint, expressed the warmest compassion for their miseries, and the fullest participation in their views. Henry had made himself equally odious to all; and the proposal, once suggested, was unhesitatingly adopted, that the crown should be taken from the sovereign who had thus disgraced it, and placed upon the worthier head of Rudolf of Rheinfeld, duke of Swabia<sup>2</sup>. This prince, on whom, as it will be recollected, the empress Agnes had bestowed the duchy of Burgundy, in addition to that of Swabia, was, by the union of two such important fiefs, in a position, too powerful perhaps for

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

a subject; especially when his prospect of a connexion with the imperial house had been put an end to, by the premature death of Henry's sister, his intended bride. On the present occasion, however, Rudolf peremptorily refused to accept the proffered diadem, until the more constitutional act of a general diet of the empire should have legalized his doing so <sup>1</sup>. Such a diet, therefore, it was resolved speedily to convene: the assembly separated, pledged to secrecy, and Henry was amused by a fictitious and apparently satisfactory account of its proceedings; being led to expect that the peace would be finally concluded, on terms honourable to both parties, at the approaching festival of Christmas <sup>2</sup>.

But of the feeling of dislike towards himself, which now pervaded his empire, Henry received, daily, additional proofs. Even the Rhenish nobles, on whom, from their want of connexion with Saxony, the king thought that he might the most securely depend, were now observed by him to treat him with less than their wonted respect <sup>3</sup>; and, after having celebrated the festival of All Saints at Wurzburg, he quitted their neighbourhood, and set out for Ratisbon <sup>4</sup>. But at Nuremberg, where he halted for a few days upon his way, a cruel blow awaited him. Reginer, a person long attached to his own household, here accused him to the Dukes, Rudolf of Swabia, and Berthold of Carinthia, of entertaining a design to surprise and murder,—when removed from their followers, as though for the purpose of confidential communication with him,—the principal members of his disaffected aristocracy. Reginer, according to his own account, had himself been

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Bernold Constant.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>4</sup> Id.

solicited by his master to aid in the accomplishment of this guilty project; and the truth of the charge now made, he was prepared, he said, to maintain, against either the king himself or his champion, in single combat <sup>1</sup>.

Whether this statement was based on a foundation of truth, or what, if this was not the case, were the secret motives of Reginer,—a man of name and character <sup>2</sup>,—in making it, we have not the means of deciding. Those before whom it was made, were too well prepared,—too anxious,—to believe all evil of their sovereign, to doubt its authenticity. It corroborated, indeed, and accorded with, notions already existing in their minds; for it appears that Henry at that time laboured under heavy suspicions, of having rid himself, by murder, of associates who had become obnoxious to him <sup>3</sup>. The princes withdrew themselves, therefore, from his court; they informed him, by messengers, that they considered themselves freed from the obligation of all vows of allegiance to one who could plot their destruction, at the moment in which they were exerting themselves for his welfare; and they bade him, unless he could prove this charge unfounded, expect from them, for the future, neither duty in times of tranquillity, nor aid in those of trouble.

Henry's anger, at this accusation, knew no bounds. Declaring it attributable to the practices of Rudolf, he was inclined to waive the consideration of his royal dignity, and to disprove it, by meeting that prince in

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Homo haud obscuri nominis in palatio, et apud suos inviolatae existimationis.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>3</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.—Annalista Saxo ad an. 1068.—Sicut ille (Henricus) non unam Bersabe libidinosus stupravit, ita non unum Uriam crudelis interfecit. Bruno.



judicial combat<sup>1</sup>. But in this he was over-ruled, and Ulrich, of Cosheim, one of his retainers,—himself accused by Reginger, as privy to the alleged scheme,—demanded of Rudolf the opportunity of meeting the accuser in the lists, and of proving his falsehood with the sword<sup>2</sup>. The question was by Rudolf referred to the decision of a future meeting of the princes; and Henry proceeded to Ratisbon, in the strong language of Lambert, “hated by all, suspected by all, and not daring “himself to repose implicit confidence in any, when “those bound to himself by the strictest ties of familiar “intercourse, had been found, with the first cloud of “the darkening tempest, to abandon him.”

Siegfried of Mentz, emboldened by this state of things, ventured to assume a power usually exercised by the sovereign alone, and summoned a diet, to meet in his archiepiscopal city; by which he intended that Rudolf should be openly elected and proclaimed as king<sup>3</sup>. The suspicions of Henry, excited by this extraordinary step, were soon confirmed by authentic accounts of the proceedings at Gerstungen; and with the view of defeating, if possible, the contemplated arrangements, he set out for Worms, resolved to establish himself in the immediate vicinity of the scene of his danger. On his way, at the village of Ladenburg, he was attacked, and for some days confined to his bed, by a disease, the violence of which inspired his enemies with the hope, that he would no longer be an obstacle in their path, to the full accomplishment of their desires<sup>4</sup>. But the strength of his constitution prevailed; he entered the city of his destination, and his

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>4</sup> Id.—Bernold Constant.

affairs took, on that day, a new and unexpected turn. The loyal citizens of Worms marched forth, in military pomp, to meet him; displaying their numbers and their arms, not, as others of his subjects had done, for the purpose of opposing or intimidating their sovereign, but with the view of showing him, in that crisis of his affairs, on how many true hearts he might yet rely. When certified of his approach, they had driven the forces of their bishop, who had taken part with his adversaries, from their walls, while the prelate himself was forced to consult his safety by a hasty flight. And when their king had arrived among them, they voluntarily bound themselves, by vows of allegiance, to his cause; they raised by general contribution a sum of money for his necessities; and pledged themselves to contend, if needful, unto the death, in support of the honour of his throne<sup>1</sup>. And Henry, struck with their devotion, and feeling the importance of retaining a city of such consequence firm in his cause, determined to make Worms his principal abode, during the conflict which he foresaw; to establish it as the depository of his resources; and to use it as the rallying-point of his forces, in moments of danger or distress<sup>2</sup>.

Most important, at this eventful crisis, was the loyal demeanour of these citizens to their sovereign. The tidings of it spread abroad; and most of the conspiring princes were averse to approaching Mentz, for purposes hostile to Henry's interests, while that monarch, from the impregnable walls of Worms<sup>3</sup>, could almost behold their proceedings. Siegfried's diet was, therefore, attended by but few nobles, and those mostly of a minor

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Wormatia . . . murorum firmitate inexpugnabilis.—Id.



class ; who shrunk from adopting, in the absence of the chiefs to whom they mainly looked for guidance and support, measures so daring as those, which the meeting had been summoned to effectuate. They departed, consequently, in silence, for their respective homes ; and the king's cause rather gained strength than otherwise, from this futile attempt at a hostile demonstration.

Some of those who had formed this assembly, were induced by Henry's entreaties,—hostages having been given for their safety,—to meet him, on their departure from Mentz, at Oppenheim. And it was there agreed, that the question of the truth or falsehood of Reginger's accusation should be decided, by a combat between that person and the king's champion, Ulrich, which should take place, in an island of the Rhine near Mentz, about the middle of the following January<sup>1</sup>. But a few days before the arrival of the period thus determined on, Reginger, the accuser, was attacked by a violent disease, and died delirious<sup>2</sup>; a circumstance in which those, who saw in the issue of judicial combats the manifest decisions of Heaven, could not fail to recognize a special declaration of the will of the Almighty. A kind of revulsion, consequently, took place in the popular mind. Henry, in place of being universally condemned by the opinions of his subjects, was regarded with respect as the victim of slander ; and the year 1074 thus opened upon him, under circumstances more favourable to the stability of his power, than he could, a few weeks previously, have dared to anticipate.

<sup>1</sup> Post octavum Epiphaniæ.—Lamb. Schafnab.

<sup>2</sup> Dirissimo dæmone arreptus, horrendâ morte interiit.—Id.



## BOOK III.—CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1073.

GREGORY'S EXCURSION TOWARD THE SOUTH—HIS RELATIONS WITH GUISCARD—  
EPISTLE TO WRATISLAV—TO THE EMPEROR MICHAEL—TREATY WITH THE PRINCE  
OF BENEVENTO—WITH RICHARD OF CAPUA—EPISTLE TO RUDOLF OF SWABIA—TO  
RAINALD BISHOP OF CUMÆ—TO ANSELM BISHOP OF LUCCA—TO THE CARTHAGINIANS,  
AND TO THEIR BISHOP CYRIAC—CONSECRATION OF SARDINIAN ARCHBISHOPS—  
EPISTLE TO THE LOMBARDS—TO HERLEMBALD—TO THE SAME—TO THE BISHOPS  
OF AQUI AND PAVIA—TO GEBHARD BISHOP OF SALZBURG—TO LANFRANC—TO  
REMIGIUS BISHOP OF LINCOLN—TO RODERIC BISHOP OF CHALONS—TO HUMBERT  
ARCHBISHOP OF LYONS—GREGORY'S RETURN TO ROME, AND EPISTLE TO THE PRE-  
LATES OF GERMANY.

WITHIN a few days of his consecration,—an event which, as has been already stated, occurred on the 29th of June, 1073,—Gregory left Rome, on an excursion toward the south ; a direction in which various motives contributed to call him. Robert Guiscard,—once thankful for the sanction afforded to his rising power, by his character of a feudatory of the Church,—now, that power having become more firmly consolidated, felt an impatience alike at the recognition of inferiority, which such vassalage implied, and at the impediments, which the duties attendant upon it imposed, to the extension, in certain directions, of his territorial possessions. He had not appeared at the ceremony of consecration ; and he showed, still more clearly, the alteration which had taken place in his sentiments, by refusing, or delaying to renew, to Gregory, the oaths which had bound him to Nicholas and to Alexander. The pontiff felt, there-

fore, that a struggle with Guiscard was impending, and was solicitous to strengthen himself against its occurrence, by cementing, as far as might be, a connexion between the apostolic see, and the princes whose territories bordered upon Apulia. But, though this mainly occupied his mind, at no time during his progress did he neglect the general affairs of the Church, or the interests of the papal power: and a sketch of the successive objects, which engaged his attention, and occupied his pen, during his absence from Rome on this occasion, may serve to give a tolerably accurate idea, of the nature and extent of his correspondence in general, and of the active part which he systematically took in the guidance and government of the Church in all regions of the world.

From San Lorenzo, Gregory's first halting-place, he addressed, on the 8th of July, an epistle to Wratislav, Duke of Bohemia, under the following circumstances:—Jaromir, the brother of Wratislav, disappointed of inheriting, on the death of Wratislav's predecessor Spítignew, a portion of the duchy, had, on the decease of the bishop of Prague, in 1067, laid down the military character, and assumed the sacerdotal; and, through the support of the Bohemian nobles, had wrung from his brother a reluctant consent to his occupation of that richly endowed diocese. Thus elevated, he viewed with impatience the existence of an independent see in Moravia, a province which had formerly acknowledged the authority of his predecessors; and finding his efforts, for the recovery of that jurisdiction, to be vain, he contrived to waylay the obnoxious bishop, and, with his retainers, to beat and insult him<sup>1</sup>. The Moravian prelate

<sup>1</sup> Longinus, Dhugloschus dictus, ap. Baron. ad an.

appealed to the apostolic see, and legates were despatched, with powers to hear and decide the question in dispute by pontifical authority. But this mode of settling ecclesiastical disputes was then new in Bohemia<sup>1</sup>, and Jaromir naturally resisted its introduction. Wratislav, however, was the approved supporter of the prerogatives of Rome; from whence he had, in the time of Alexander, received the privilege,—in the case of a layman an unprecedented one,—of wearing the mitre; to the conclave, a symbol of subjection, but to his countrymen, of ecclesiastical sovereignty<sup>2</sup>. And to him Gregory now wrote, complaining of Jaromir's disrespect to those to whom, as messengers of the apostolic see, might be applied the words, "He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me." He entreated the duke to add his exhortations to those of the legates, in order to bring back, to the path of obedience, that brother, who was now treading in the steps of Simon Magus, in his opposition to St. Peter. "And if," Gregory continued, "he be still contumacious, we will not only confirm the sentence pronounced by our legates, of suspension from his office, but will draw forth yet more sternly—even for his destruction<sup>3</sup>—the sword of apostolic indignation. . . . Presumption like his we dare overlook no longer, having before our eyes this warning of the prophet Ezekiel,—‘If thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hand<sup>4</sup>.’"

<sup>1</sup> Quoniam, says Gregory himself, agente incuriâ, apostolicæ sedis nuntii ad partes vestras raro missi sunt, quidam vestrorum hoc quasi novum aliquid existimantes . . . legatos nostros contemptui habent, &c.—Lib. i. Ep. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Usque ad internecionem.

<sup>4</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 8.



From Albano, on the day following—the 9th of July—Gregory addressed an epistle to the Grecian emperor, Michael Parapinaces, in reply to a letter of congratulation, which that prince had forwarded to him, by the hands of two monks, Thomas and Nicholas; who were also charged to communicate with the pontiff respecting matters, so important, that Gregory conceived it right to entrust his sentiments respecting them, to an envoy of a more ostensible character. He consequently wrote to introduce to the emperor, as his representative, Dominic, the patriarch of Venice, whom he immediately despatched to Constantinople; and he availed himself of the opportunity, to express his anxious wish for the restoration of that unity, which in older and happier times had prevailed between the maternal Church of Rome, and her daughter, the Church of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>.

The results of this legation are unknown; but we must conceive the good understanding thus evinced between the capitals of the Eastern and of the Western world to have continued for some little time unimpaired, from the circumstance of Gregory's interesting himself, as we shall shortly see, in favour of the Grecian empire, by calling on all Christians to lend it their aid against its Saracen enemies.

Much as his attention was throughout his pontificate engaged by business more immediately pressing, the idea of a re-union between the two great branches of Christ's Church seems ever,—like a bright dream,—to have haunted his mind. In his theory, that re-union would, of course, have been accompanied by the recognition, on the part of the younger capital, of the superior

<sup>1</sup> Ep. i. 18.

rank of the elder. And there are those at this day, who might perhaps be disposed, on this account, to attribute his anxiety for such an event to personal ambition alone, or, at most, to a desire to promote the interests of the papacy as such. But the supposition were, surely, most unjust. Such anxiety, as a true Churchman, Gregory could not fail to entertain. Even now, when century after century has set its seal upon the fatal schism, is it not the true Churchman's duty to pray for and to look, if not with constant hope, with constant desire at least, toward an event so blessed, as would be a re-union of those two great branches of his Master's flock, the unnaturally-divided Churches of the East and of the West?

From Monte Cassino, whither he next proceeded, Gregory was accompanied, by the abbot Desiderius, to Benevento, a city yet ruled by its Lombard sovereign, Landulph VI. With this prince the pontiff, on the 12th of August<sup>1</sup>, concluded a treaty based on the full recognition, by the former, of his obligation of fealty to the apostolic see. And then, removing to Capua, Gregory established himself in that city for some months. Richard, its prince, was the Norman chief next in power to the enterprising Guiscard; and the renewal of a friendly connexion with him must of course have been considered as a measure which, if practicable, would prove most conducive to the security of the papal power. Nor to such a connexion did the Capuan prince,—however naturally disposed to side with his countryman,—long continue averse. In the presence of Gregory, he bound himself, by an oath<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> “Anno primo pontificatus ejus, duodecimâ die, intrante mense Augusto, indictione undecimâ.”—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1210.

<sup>2</sup> Sept. 24, 1073.—Hard. t. vi. pt. i. p. 1213.

similar in purport to that which he had formerly taken, with Guiscard, before Nicholas II., to fealty, and its consequent duties, toward the pope and his successors in the apostolic see; taught, probably, by this time, to perceive, that the benefits to be derived from his alliance with the Church were mutual; and that, notwithstanding his participation in the Norman blood, and connexion, by marriage, with Guiscard, he might soon stand in need of such an ally as the apostolic see, against the over-grown power of his ambitious countryman.

Gregory continued the guest of Richard till the middle of November; lingering, perhaps, in the vicinity of Apulia, with the hope,—a vain one,—of coming to some accommodation with Robert, upon terms of which the pontiff could approve<sup>1</sup>; but, not neglecting, during this protracted sojourn, the general concerns of the empire and the Church. In an epistle written, on the 1st of September, to Rudolf of Swabia<sup>2</sup>, a prince whom he already regarded as the head of the reforming, or papal, party in Germany, he expressed his earnest desire for the continuance of unity between the civil and the ecclesiastical power. “For as,” he said, “with respect to temporal light, the human body is guided and informed by the two eyes, so should the body of the Church be governed, with respect to spiritual

<sup>1</sup> On his own terms, Robert, it appears was always willing to make the required submission.—*Si enim discretio nostra, vult Gregory, Ep. i. 25, sanctæ ecclesiæ utile appareret, ipsi jam se nobis humiles subdidissent, et quam solent reverentiam exhibuissent*;—a passage which is explained by one in a subsequent Ep. (iii. 15.) *Beato Petro . . . satisfacimus, si voluntati eorum in quibusdam annueremus.*

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 19.



“light, by these two authorities, co-operating in religious fellowship with each other.” In furtherance of this end, he declared himself anxious to confer with the Empress Agnes, with Beatrice of Tuscany, with Rainald, Bishop of Cumæ, to whom he on the same day addressed an epistle<sup>1</sup>, and with Rudolf himself. And he, therefore, invited the Swabian prince, as well for this important purpose, as for that of devotion, to visit ere long the threshold of St. Peter.

An epistle which Gregory addressed, on the same day, to Anselm, Alexander's successor elect in the bishopric of Lucca<sup>2</sup>, is remarkable, from its connexion with the subject of investitures, which has been already described as occupying so prominent a place in the pontiff's mind; and as an illustration of the caution with which he advanced, even toward the assertion of principles of which he most earnestly desired the establishment. Anselm had, it seems, been called on to receive the investiture of his bishopric from the royal hand, and had appealed to Gregory for instructions on the subject. And he, as might have been expected, decidedly forbade the measure; but, by basing his prohibition upon the fact of Henry's intimacy with persons excommunicate, and of his delay to give satisfaction for this and other offences to the Roman see, he warily avoided committing himself, by a premature declaration of his general sentiments on this most important subject.

While at Capua, Gregory received letters of complaint from Cyriac, Bishop of Carthage, whose suffragan clergy had, it seems, invoked,—to control him in the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction,—the un-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 21.

authorized interference of the Saracen Emir, or governor, of the place ; by whose directions the prelate had been publicly and ignominiously beaten. On the 16th of September, therefore, the pontiff addressed a mournful and indignant letter to this unruly flock<sup>1</sup>, pointing out and deploring the fearful nature of their crime, and warning them, in the close, of the necessity under which he would lie, if they persisted in their contumacy, of unsheathing against them the sword of apostolical anathema. "May I be silent," he said, "upon these things? or am I bound to speak and to correct, while I lament them? It is written, 'Cry aloud, and spare not'<sup>2</sup> ; and again, 'If thou dost not warn the wicked from his way, his blood will I require at thy hand'<sup>3</sup>. I am forced, therefore, to speak. I am forced to correct you, lest your blood should be required at my hand ; lest it should one day confound me before the terrible, the just, the immutable Judge of all."

To the ill-used prelate himself, Gregory wrote in another tone<sup>4</sup>. "We thank God," he said, "that in the midst of a depraved and perverse generation, the constancy of your faith has so far shone forth as a light to all, and that you have chosen rather to suffer a variety of torments, than to exercise the power of ordination, at the unauthorized command of your prince, in violation of the sacred canons of the Church." "Great," he continued, "are the troubles of the righteous ; but the Lord delivereth him out of them all<sup>5</sup>. By such acts the Church first sprung into life, by such she must be revived. This

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Is. lviii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Psal. xxxiv. 19.

“ heritage our fathers in the faith have left us, through  
 “ much tribulation to enter into the kingdom of God <sup>1</sup>.  
 “ Fierce is the contest, but infinite is the reward : nor  
 “ are the sufferings of this present time worthy to be  
 “ compared with the glory which shall be revealed <sup>2</sup>.  
 “ Let us, absent from each other in the body, though  
 “ present with each other in the spirit, resort, as often  
 “ as opportunity will permit, to the mutual consolation  
 “ of letters <sup>3</sup>; and let us constantly implore Almighty  
 “ God, that He would at length look again on the long-  
 “ afflicted, long-agitated, Church of Africa ; saying with  
 “ the Psalmist, ‘ Up, Lord, why sleepest Thou ? awake,  
 “ ‘ and be not absent from us for ever ! Wherefore  
 “ ‘ hidest Thou Thy face, and forgettest our misery and  
 “ ‘ trouble <sup>4</sup> ? ’ ”

At Capua Gregory consecrated and presented with  
 the pallium <sup>5</sup>, Constantine, archbishop of Turris <sup>6</sup>, and  
 James, archbishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia ; to the former  
 of whom, he entrusted a letter, to the judges or gover-  
 nors of that island, asserting, or reminding them of, its  
 former connexions with Rome, and subjection to the  
 authority of the apostolic see. A legate, he said, should  
 shortly be commissioned to visit Sardinia, to whom his  
 directions for their guidance should more fully be con-  
 fided, and to whose authority, as they prized either  
 their spiritual or their temporal safety, he required their  
 reverent submission <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts xiv. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Nos igitur licet corpore absentes, spiritu tamen præsentes, mutuis litterarum consolationibus, quoties permittit opportunitas, insistamus.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xliv. 23, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Baron.

<sup>6</sup> “ Turrensem ; ” probably “ Turris Libisonis ” now called “ Porto di Torre.”—Bingham, bk. ix. ch. v. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 29.



Milan, and the contest there raging, had from the moment of Gregory's assumption of the tiara, occupied his serious attention. Atto, the youth chosen by the party of Herlembald, had, as has been already intimated, been recognized by Rome as the legitimate pastor of the city of St. Ambrose; and Godfrey, the nominee of the late simoniacal archbishop, had, with his adherents, shortly before the death of Alexander been denounced by that pontiff anew. And Henry was, at first, disposed to resent this measure as an indignity to himself; but he subsequently, in consistency with the humble part which he felt it necessary to assume, abandoned, as we have seen, the question which agitated Milan, to the prudent counsels of Alexander's successor. Party-spirit, however, yet raged violently within the walls of that city; and Herlembald, as the supporter of the papal cause, was engaged in a perpetual contest with the corrupt and simoniacal clergy of the place, whose influence seems still to have predominated over that of their opponents. On the first of July, two days after his consecration, Gregory had addressed an epistle "to all the faithful servants of Christ in Lombardy<sup>1</sup>," promulgating the sentence lately pronounced against the intruding archbishop, and warning them against all intercourse with that excommunicate person, and all recognition of his uncanonical authority. And to his faithful supporter, Herlembald himself, Gregory now, from Capua, addressed a letter full of hope and encouragement<sup>2</sup>; which has been already cited<sup>3</sup>, as expressing the pontiff's sentiments of pleasure, on the receipt of the submissive epistle from

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Supra. Vid. ch. i. p. 341.

Henry. Some of the king's principal counsellors,—Gregory also informed Herlembald,—had given assurances in his name, that with respect to the affairs of Milan he would in all things comply with the pontiff's will. The Norman interest was now divided against itself; and the fidelity of Beatrice and Matilda to the Church's cause, was still unquestionable. "Do thou, therefore," said Gregory in conclusion, "trusting in the Lord, and in thy mother, the Church of Rome, perform a manly part. Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might<sup>1</sup>; and remember, that the darker, the more violent, the tempest which now besets thee, the brighter, the more delightful, by the favour of Heaven, shall be the calm which shall succeed it."

A second letter, containing instructions which, at the time of writing the above, he was too much hurried to give, was shortly afterwards dispatched to Herlembald by Gregory<sup>2</sup>, who attempted to give further support to his cause by addressing epistles to the bishops of Aquino and Pavia<sup>3</sup>, and calling upon them to make St. Peter their debtor, by going forth, with the shield of faith and with the helmet of salvation, against Simon Magus, who had so deeply infected, with the poison of his venality, the Church of the holy Ambrose.

Gregory was, on the 15th of November, still at Capua, as he dated from thence a letter written on that day to Gebhard, Bishop of Salzburg<sup>4</sup>; on whom he urged the enforcement of canons passed by Alexander, in a council, which Gebhard had himself attended, against clerical marriage. But he almost

<sup>1</sup> Ephes. vi. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. ep 30.

immediately afterwards quitted that city, and proceeded to Monte Cassino, as appears by a letter written by him to Lanfranc<sup>1</sup>, and dated on the 20th of November, from St. Germano, a village belonging to that monastery, and situated at the foot of the hill on which it stood<sup>2</sup>. The object of this epistle was to incite Lanfranc more vigorously to resist, what Gregory styled the presumption of a bishop named Arfastus<sup>3</sup>, who appears to have attempted the exertion of episcopal authority with respect to an abbey,—St. Edmund's—over which the popes claimed an immediate and exclusive jurisdiction. And the pontiff naturally availed himself of the occasion, to re-assert the favourite doctrine of Rome, to which she owed her spiritual monarchy, that a paramount control over the consecrations of churches, priests, and even bishops themselves, was vested, by divine right, in the successors of St. Peter.

From Monte Cassino, Gregory moved to Terracina; and thence, on or about the 3rd of December, to Piperno. From the former place, he replied<sup>4</sup> to a letter of Remigius<sup>5</sup>, Bishop of Lincoln, forbidding him to suffer a certain priest, who had been guilty of homicide, again to officiate at the altar; but directing that

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Baron.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Herfast, who filled the see of Thetford from 1070 to 1086.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. i. ep. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Called, in the epistle, Remedius. He was elected bishop of Dorchester in 1070, and, during his episcopate, transferred the seat of his diocese to Lincoln; where he commenced the building of a cathedral in 1088. "In loco forti fortem, pulchro pulchram, Virgini virginum construxit ecclesiam." *Henrici Huntindonensis Hist.* lib. vi. p. 213. ed. Savil.



the offender, if sincerely contrite, should still receive support from the funds of the Church; lest poverty and hopelessness should drive him to further crime. And from Piperno, he ventured to assert what he conceived the Church's rights, before a more powerful sovereign than those, with whom he had recently been thrown into contact.

Philip, king of France, of whose simony complaints had frequently reached the apostolic see, had lately, by a confidential envoy despatched to Rome, pledged himself to the abandonment of that vice, and to the proper care in the future disposal of the benefices of the Church. But it now appeared that, though the clergy of the diocese of Mâcon had, with his own approval, elected Landric, Archdeacon of Autun<sup>1</sup>, to fill their vacant see, the king declined to put him in possession of it, without the present which he had on such occasions been accustomed to receive. The clergy appealed to Rome, and Gregory resolved not to lose this opportunity of enforcing upon Philip the observance of his promise. He addressed, on the 4th of December, an epistle<sup>2</sup> to Roderic, Bishop of Chalons, a prelate whom he knew to possess the confidence of the king. He had only, he said, delayed the infliction, upon Philip, of those censures which his past presumptuous and oppressive conduct had deserved, in consequence of the promise of reformation, given by him through his envoy, Alberic. The sincerity of that promise, he trusted the king would now prove, by admitting the bishop, who had been canonically chosen, to the possession of his diocese, without fee or reward. This if he declined to do, Gregory protested that he

<sup>1</sup> Augustodunum.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 35.

would no longer patiently behold the ruin of the Church; but that he would subdue the monarch's contumacy, by enforcing, by the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, the rigour of the canons. Either the king, renouncing the baseness of traffic in holy things, should permit the elevation of proper persons to situations of authority in the Church; or the French, threatened by a general anathema, should be compelled,—as the alternative of casting off the Christian faith altogether,—to refuse all further subjection and obedience to their unworthy sovereign. To avert such a consummation, he besought Roderic to use all his influence with Philip, and, while he laid the above warning before him, to exhort, and at the same time entreat, the monarch, that in the affair of Mâcon, as in all others, he would reverence the canons of the Church, and permit the occupation, by the proper persons, of her benefices. And that the Bishop of Chalons, as well as his sovereign, might see that the strong language which he had used was something more than an unmeaning threat, Gregory despatched, on the same day, a letter<sup>1</sup> to Humbert, Archbishop of Lyons; whom, as metropolitan of the province in which the diocese of Mâcon was included, he commanded, in the event of Philip's continued perverseness, to consecrate, by himself or his suffragans, the bishop elect,—if no canonical objections to the appointment should arise,—without regard to the monarch's opposition; or even to that, should it be experienced, of the bishop elect himself. "And if you neglect this," concluded Gregory, "let that person come to Rome, and we will, by God's grace, consecrate him ourselves."

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 36.

These steps were not without effect. We learn, from an epistle addressed by Gregory to Philip, in the ensuing year<sup>1</sup>, that the French monarch had promised full compliance with the pontiff's directions. But his obedience on an isolated occasion wrought in him no reformation of principle; Philip was a prince of too indolent and self-indulgent a character to be easily excited to a course of persevering amendment: there were, also, many about him who were interested in his continuance in the corrupt and licentious habits to which he was addicted; Gregory's admonitions, and his own promises, were, therefore, soon forgotten; and it was not long before he was again involved in contention with the apostolic see.

From Piperno Gregory proceeded through Setia, and arrived, about the middle of December<sup>2</sup>, in the papal city. There he, of course, received ample intelligence of all which had been occurring in the troubled theatre of Germany; and anxious, if possible, to prevent an open collision between the parties there contending; anxious to calm for a while the angry passions on either side; he addressed to Wezelin, Archbishop of Magdeburg, Burchard, Bishop of Halberstadt, and other persons of influence among the Saxons, an epistle, with the insertion of which we will close our record of the proceedings of this eventful year.

“ Ye know, I believe, the violent manner in which I  
“ was constrained by my brethren to undertake the  
“ burthen and charge of the universal Church, shaken  
“ as she is by the waves of commotion, and almost

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 75.

<sup>2</sup> He addressed an epistle (i. 37) to the Countess Aldilasia, from Setia, on the 7th; and one (i. 38) to Duke Wratislav, of Bohemia, on the 17th of December, from Rome.



“in danger of shipwreck. My conscience bears me  
“witness, how unequal I should have judged myself to  
“such a weight, and with what anxiety I should have  
“sought to avoid the title of apostolic dignity. But,  
“since the way of a man is not in his own hand<sup>1</sup>, but is  
“at His disposal, by whom all our steps are guided, it  
“was impossible for me to maintain my own wishes in  
“opposition to the will of Heaven. Wherefore I must  
“solicitously watch and ponder how, by God’s blessing,  
“I may declare and faithfully administer those things  
“which pertain to the advantage of true Religion,  
“and to the welfare of the flock of the Lord: urged  
“alike by fear, lest negligence with regard to the duties  
“of my stewardship should one day accuse me before  
“the supreme Judge, and by the love which is due  
“from me to that prince of the Apostles, who has, from  
“my infancy, nourished me under his wings with ex-  
“ceeding pity, and cherished me in the bosom of his  
“clemency.”

“Chief among our cares at this moment is our know-  
“ledge of the fact, that between you and king Henry  
“your sovereign such discords have arisen as have led  
“to many murders, to acts of incendiarism, to the  
“plunder of the Churches and of the poor, and to the  
“melancholy devastation of your country. On which  
“account we have sent to the king, and admonished him,  
“in the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, to abstain from  
“arms and from all demonstrations of war, until we may  
“be able to despatch to him legates from this apostolic  
“see; who shall diligently inquire into all the causes of  
“this unhappy dissension, and with God’s blessing re-  
“store, by a just decision, peace and concord among you.

<sup>1</sup> Jerem. x. 23.

“And we now wish to exhort and prevail on you like-wise, by apostolical authority, to abstain from every hostile motion, and to observe the same tranquillity which we have enjoined upon him; thus interposing no impediment to the efforts which, with God’s help, we will make for the restoration of peace. In our case, ye know, falsehood were sacrilege, and injustice the shipwreck of the soul. Let none, therefore, of you doubt that, having investigated the truth in this matter, we will, God aiding us, strive to decree and to establish that which is just, upon a lasting basis. And over that party which we shall find to have suffered from the other the violence of injustice, we will, be sure, without regard to consequences, or respect of persons, extend the fulness of our favour, and the shield of our apostolical authority<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Lib. i. Ep. 39.

END OF VOL. I.





1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the proceedings.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the proceedings.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the proceedings.



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